

Aspects of Ancient Institutions and Geography

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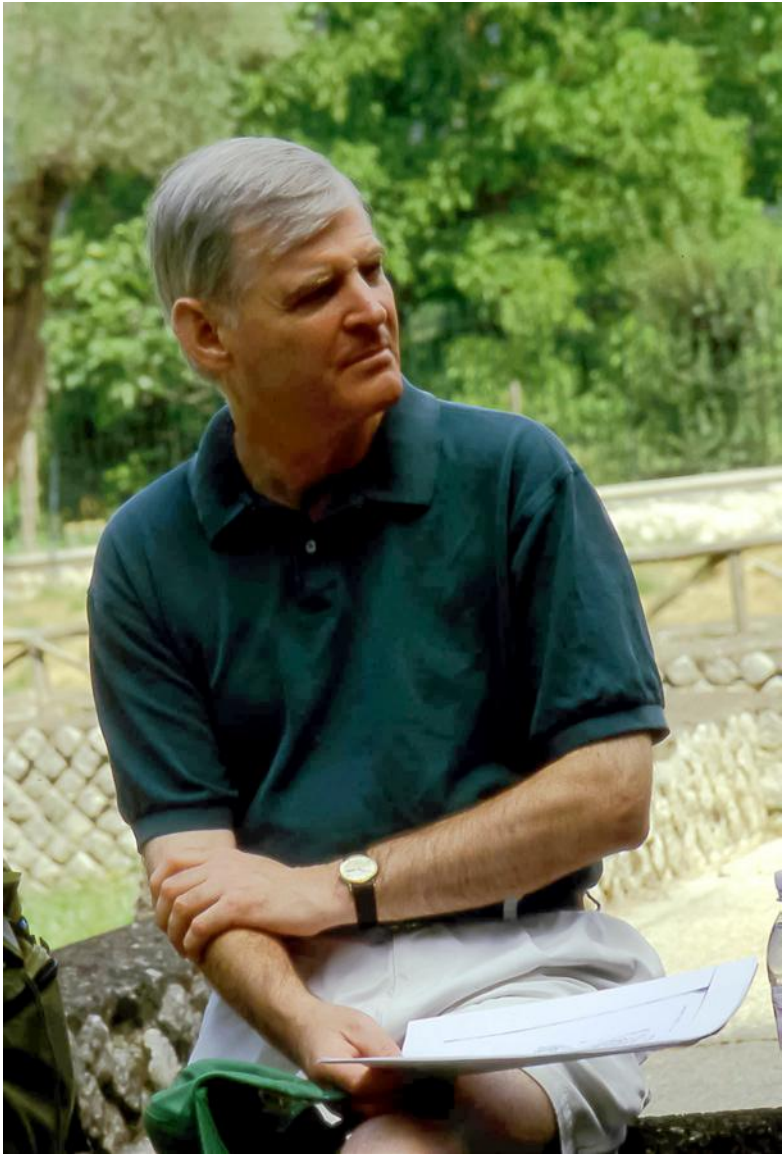
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Aspects of Ancient Institutions and Geography

Studies in Honor of Richard J.A. Talbert

Edited by

Lee L. Brice and Daniëlle Slootjes



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Cover illustration: The *Curia*, the imperial period senate building in the Forum Romanum.

(photo by Lee L. Brice)

Page illustration: Professor Robert John Alexander Talbert, on a visit to the site of Horace's Villa.

(photo by Lee L. Brice).

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Contents

Acknowledgements	ix
List of Figures and Maps	x
List of Abbreviations	xii
Notes on Contributors	xiii

PART 1

Introduction

Chaps and Maps: Reflections on a Career with Institutional and Cartographic History	3
<i>Lee L. Brice and Daniëlle Slootjes</i>	

Cumulative Bibliography of Works by Richard J.A. Talbert	12
<i>Tom Elliott</i>	

PART 2

Roman Institutions

1 Plutarchan Prosopography: The <i>Cursus Honorum</i>	29
<i>Philip A. Stadter</i>	
2 The <i>Lex Julia de Senatu Habendo</i> : A View from the 1930s	48
<i>Jonathan Scott Perry</i>	
3 Tacitus on Trial(s)	65
<i>Leanne Bablitz</i>	
4 Curial Communiqué: Memory, Propaganda, and the Roman Senate House	84
<i>Sarah E. Bond</i>	
5 Second Chance for Valor: Restoration of Order After Mutinies and Indiscipline	103
<i>Lee L. Brice</i>	

- 6 **Training Gladiators: Life in the *Ludus*** 122
 Garrett G. Fagan
- 7 **Statuen Ehrungen als Zeugnis für den Einfluss römischer Amtsträger
 im Leben einer Provinz** 145
 Werner Eck
- 8 **Dio Chrysostom as a Local Politician: A Critical Reappraisal** 161
 Christopher J. Fuhrmann
- 9 **Late Antique Administrative Structures: On the Meaning of Dioceses
 and their Borders in the Fourth Century AD** 177
 Daniëlle Slootjes

PART 3

Geography and Cartographic History

- 10 **The Geography of Thucydides** 199
 Cheryl L. Golden
- 11 **An Anatolian Itinerary, 334–333 BC** 216
 Fred S. Naiden
- 12 **Visualizing Empire in Imperial Rome** 235
 Mary T. Boatwright
- 13 **The Provinces and Worldview of Velleius Paterculus** 260
 Brian Turner
- 14 ***Litterae Datae Blandenone*: A Letter in Search of a Posting
 Address** 280
 Jerzy Linderski
- 15 **Using Sundials** 298
 George W. Houston

- 16 **The Healing Springs of Latium and Etruria** 314
 John F. Donahue
- 17 **The Shaping Hand of the Environment: Three Phases of Development
 in Classical Antiquity** 333
 Michael Maas
- Geographic Index** 347
 General Index 349

Acknowledgements

This is a volume brought together to honor Richard John Alexander Talbert. Although two of us shepherded the project throughout the process of bringing it together, it is the product of many contributions by a broad range of Richard Talbert's colleagues and former students. We recognize and appreciate the efforts of a number of people who have helped bring this volume to fruition. George Houston, Scott Perry, and especially Fred Naiden supported us with lengthy chats about Talbert's career while Sarah Bond shed unexpected light on his early days at Cambridge. Jeff Becker, recent director of the Ancient World Mapping Center at UNC, made superlative mapping possible, including the generous donation by the AWMC of numerous maps for the volume. We thank Irene Van Rossum and Jennifer Pavelko of Brill and Olivier Hekster, Editor of the Impact of Empire series who have patiently seen the project through the press. Randy Howarth and Cindy Nimchuk generously provided a place and a convivial atmosphere in which Leanne, Garrett, and Lee could brainstorm about the original idea of this volume. We thank the anonymous reviewers for their helpful comments and suggestions. Of course, we wish to acknowledge the support of our respective spouses, Georgia and Sander, whose suggestions, sense of humor, and perspective was always helpful. We owe a special word of thanks to Zandra Talbert, without whom the project could not have progressed at all. She provided the necessary *auctoritas* that moved the project off the drawing board. Zandra also provided us with insights into her husband's early career, including his award winning Greek epigram from Cambridge. Throughout his career at MacMaster and Chapel Hill when all the authors in this volume worked with himself as colleagues and students, Zandra provided unfailing support and a quick wit. Of course, the person to whom we owe the greatest debt is himself. Rather than labor the point with piles of appreciation and praise that will make him uncomfortable, it is sufficient to say on behalf of all his students and colleagues, "Thank you, Richard." We dedicate this volume to him as a small token of all our gratitude and affection.

List of Figures and Maps

FIGURE CAPTION

- | | |
|------|--|
| 6.1 | The Ludus Magnus, Rome. View toward east. The cells of the north side are visible at left, the practice arena at right. Photo: S. Tuck. 124 |
| 6.2 | The gladiatorial barracks (Caserma dei Gladiatori), Pompeii. View toward south. The cells and porticoed training area are clearly visible. Photo: G. Fagan. 124 |
| 12.1 | Northern Augustan Rome, as depicted on the Digital Augustan Rome map. This area was outside of Rome's <i>pomerium</i> and city walls in the Augustan period. Map © Digital Augustan Rome, kindness of D.G. Romano and N.L. Stapp. 238 |
| 12.2 | North-central Rome along the southern stretch of the Via Flaminia (Via Lata), imperial period (note that north is to the left). Plan after G. Gatti, <i>Topografia ed edilizia di Roma antica</i> (Rome 1989) 84 Pl. 1, originally published 1944. 244 |
| 12.3 | Reliefs associated with the Arch of Claudius and the Arcus Novus. Photo © D-DAI-ROM-74.763; see http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/reproduktion/3001295 . 247 |
| 12.4 | "Province relief" and trophy relief from the Hadrianeum, as now displayed in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples. Photo by the author (2011). 250 |
| 12.5 | "Torlonia relief" from the Antonine arch between the Via Flaminia and the Hadrianeum. Photo is from the plaster cast in the Museo della Civiltà Romana, and used by permission of Roma, Museo della Civiltà Romana (Archivio Fotografico del Museo della Civiltà Romana, prot. 1273/MC). 251 |
| 12.6 | The Column of Marcus Aurelius, Scene LXXII showing the slaughter of "barbarians" by Roman forces on horseback and foot. Photo © D-DAI-ROM-2011.0902; see http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/relief/29307072 . 252 |
| 15.1 | Schematic drawing of a simple conical dial from Delos, based on Gibbs 3024G (photograph in her frontispiece). The original dial is 23 cm. high and 22.7 cm. wide. Drawing by Margaret Reid from a sketch by the author. 300 |

- 15.2 Surviving fragment of a horizontal plane dial from Aphrodisias, probably fifth century AD. A vertical gnomon in the middle cast a shadow along the day curves, which are labeled, from top to bottom, *chimerine* (sc. *trope*) or “winter solstice,” *isemerine* or “equinox,” and *therine* or “summer solstice.” There are eleven hour lines as well. Drawing by the author after the photograph in Pattenden (1981) Plate 2. 308

MAP CAPTION

- 1 Ancient Greece, produced by the Ancient World Mapping Center © 2013 (awmc.unc.edu), used by permission. xviii
- 2 The Roman world, produced by the Ancient World Mapping Center © 2013 (awmc.unc.edu), used by permission. xx
- 9.1 Roman provinces in the East, in particular region of and around Asia, at the death of the emperor Trajan (AD 117); based on *Barr.*, map 100, produced by the Ancient World Mapping Center © 2014 (awmc.unc.edu), used by permission. 184
- 9.2 Roman provinces and dioceses in the East, in particular diocese of Asiana; based on the *Barr.*, map 101, produced by the Ancient World Mapping Center © 2014 (awmc.unc.edu), used by permission. 185
- 10.1 The geography of Thucydides, produced by the Ancient World Mapping Center © 2013 (awmc.unc.edu), used by permission. 202
- 11.1 Alexander at the northwest corner of Anatolia, produced by the Ancient World Mapping Center © 2013 (awmc.unc.edu), used by permission. 220
- 13.1 The Roman Empire of Velleius Paterculus, produced by the Ancient World Mapping Center © 2013 (awmc.unc.edu), used by permission. 266

List of Abbreviations

Abbreviations of journals and works employed in this book are those from *L'Année Philologique*, and the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*⁴, in addition to the following:

<i>CBCR</i>	<i>Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae. The Early Christian Basilicas of Rome (iv–ix cent.)</i> , 5 vols. R. Krautheimer (ed.) Vatican City 1937–.
<i>CIIP</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae</i> . Volume I, pt. 2: Jerusalem: 705–1120. H.M. Cotton, L. Di Segni, W. Eck, B. Isaac, A. Kushnir-Stein, H. Misgav, J.J. Price, A. Yardeni (eds) Berlin 2012. Volume II: Caesarea and the Middle Coast: 1121–2160. W. Ameling, H.M. Cotton, W. Eck, B. Isaac, A. Kushnir-Stein, H. Misgav, J. Price, A. Yardeni (eds) Berlin 2012. Volume III: South Coast: 2161–2648. W. Ameling, H.M. Cotton, W. Eck, B. Isaac, A. Kushnir-Stein, H. Misgav, J. Price (eds) Berlin 2012.
<i>CollLatomus</i>	<i>Collections Latomus</i> , editors var. Brussels, 1939–.
<i>EAOR</i>	<i>Epigrafia Anfiteatrale dell'Occidente Romano</i> , 8 vols., editors var. Rome 1988–.
<i>IGRR</i>	= <i>IGRom. Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes</i> . R. Cagnat et al. (eds) Chicago 1906–1927.
<i>IGLSyr</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae et Latines de la Syrie</i> . L. Jalabert, R. Mouterde, et al. (eds) Paris 1911–86.
Malalas	Ioannes Malalas, <i>Chronographia</i> , ed. Dindorf (Bonn, 1831).
<i>MHT</i>	<i>Major Historical Texts of Early Hittite History. Asian Studies Monograph</i> , no. 1. Bryce, Trevor (ed.) St. Lucia, Queensland 1983.
<i>RMD</i>	<i>Roman Military Diplomas</i> . M.M. Roxan and P.A. Holder (eds). London 1978–.
<i>RGZM</i>	Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz. http://web.rgzm.de/publikationen/rgzm-open-access.html
<i>SgO</i>	<i>Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten</i> , 3 vols. R. Merkelbach and J. Stauber. Stuttgart 1998.
<i>Tab. Peut.</i>	Levi, A. and Levi, M. (1967) <i>Itineraria Picta. Contributo allo studio della Tabula Peutingeriana</i> . Rome.
<i>TIB</i>	<i>Tabula Imperii Byzantini</i> . F. Hild (ed.). Vienna 1976–.

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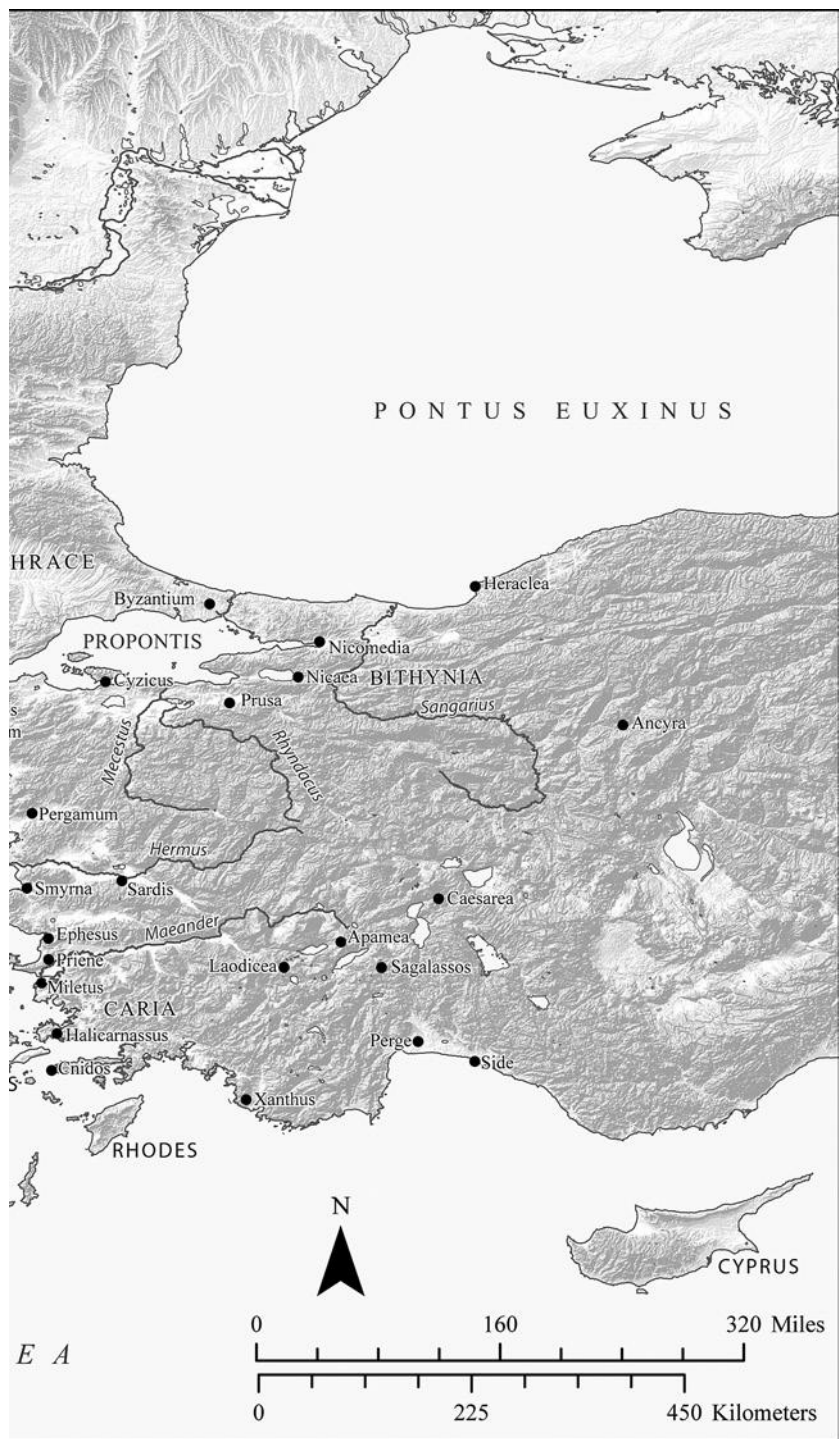
Brian Turner

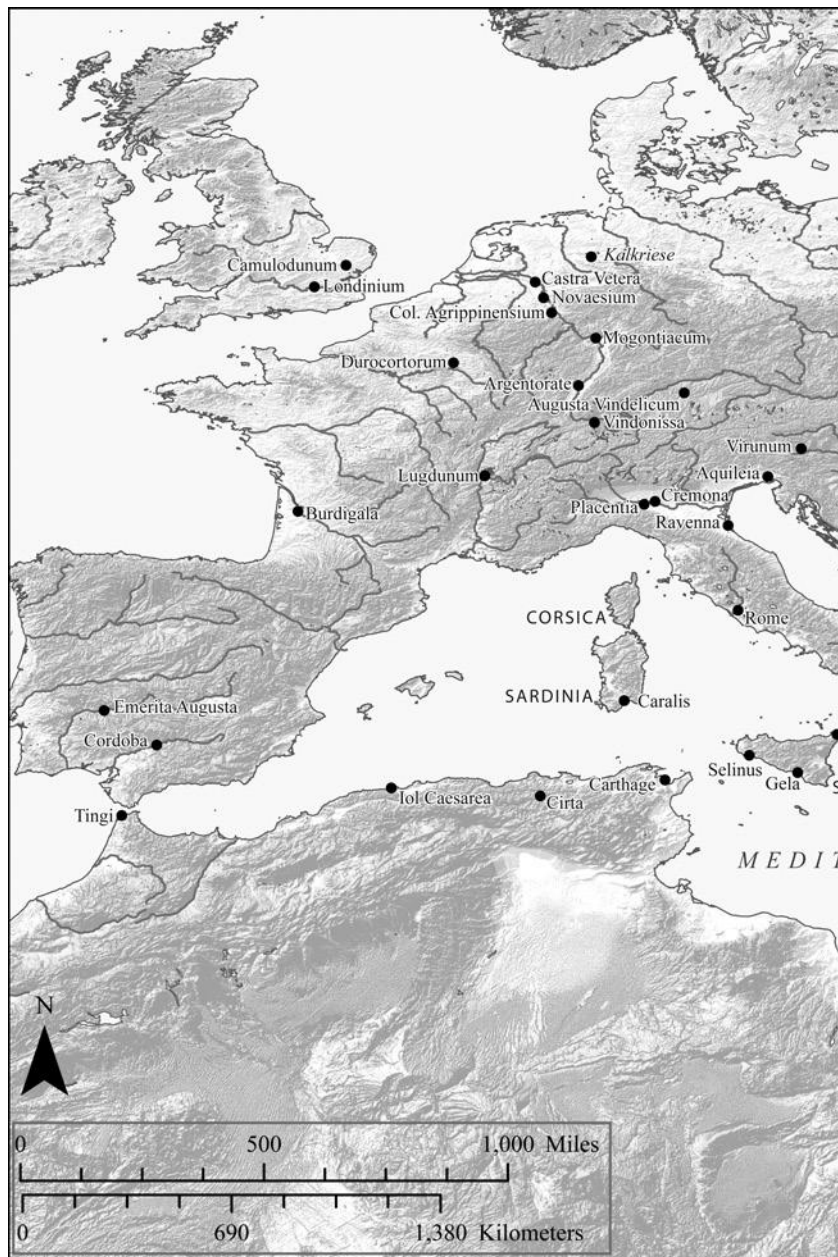
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MAP 1

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MAP 2

The Roman world, produced by the Ancient World Mapping Center © 2013 (awmc.unc.edu), used by permission.



PART 1

Introduction



Chaps and Maps: Reflections on a Career with Institutional and Cartographic History

Lee L. Brice and Daniëlle Slootjes

Richard John Alexander Talbert's body of work is often thought of as falling within two distinct fields—institutional and cartographic history. That he is one of the foremost world authorities on the Imperial senate and ancient cartography is demonstrated by his publications including *The Imperial Senate*, *The Atlas of the Classical World*, *The Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, *Rome's World: The Peutinger Map Reconsidered*, and *Ancient Perspectives: Maps and Their Place in Mesopotamia, Egypt, Greece and Rome*. Talbert's research interests started with an individual and while its scope grew to include groups, institutions, and the organization of their world, it has never really departed from a concrete interest in people. A review of his career and parts of his work highlights some of the influences and demonstrates that Talbert's interests have followed a discernable pattern of trying to understand, to the extent we can, how people navigated their world, both Greek and Rome—whether through institutions or geography.

A thorough grounding in school in traditional British training in the Classical languages heavily influenced all of Talbert's subsequent work on the ancient past.¹ He received double honors for his undergraduate achievements at Cambridge. During his graduate work at Cambridge University Talbert's initial inclination was to work on Plutarch under F.H. Sandbach but turned to Timoleon at M.I. Finley's suggestion, under whose supervision he finished the dissertation in 1971. Given that Finley was just publishing his work on Ancient Sicily it is hardly surprising he thought Timoleon a topic worth tackling.

The impact of Moses Finley on Talbert's work may not be immediately obvious since their interests diverged so much, but it should not be discounted. There are certainly qualities of Talbert's work that echo some of the themes emphasized by Finley throughout his career. As Talbert and his co-editor Fred Naiden have recently demonstrated, Finley was consistently interested in Ancient History as a field distinct from the traditional British focus on philology and literature. Finley emphasized the need for reliance on sources rather than theories as evidence. He learned by experience to deliver his observations and evidence in a format that was clear and digestible for diverse audiences, whether in a lecture or in his

¹ Talbert and Naiden (2014) 170. See the comprehensive bibliography in chapter 2 for complete citations of all Talbert's publications and associations as well as book reviews of his works.

publications. Finally, Finley was committed to the idea that study of the past was of value for understanding the present—history was a pragmatic undertaking.² Talbert's work consistently demonstrates similar interests in ancient history as a distinct field, in clear presentation of material, and in the usefulness of historical study. Whether all of this was down to Finley we should reasonably doubt, but the advisor undoubtedly had an influence on the pupil.

Thus Richard Talbert's first study focused on the impact of an individual for whom there are some sources. His preface to the Timoleon monograph reveals an outlook that would be consistent in all of his later work. Talbert reports that he did not pursue "a biography of Timoleon, because in my view there is too little evidence for such an approach to be rewarding."³ The emphasis on the primary sources and the necessity that the final work be rewarding or useful are already present. He does not engage in unwarranted speculation and employs every source available including archaeology, numismatics, and epigraphy. While it is surprising to some that the son of a talented Scot mathematician does not engage in cliometrics *ad nauseam*, the reason is to be found in his approach anchored in the sources, and the topics on which he works.

Having landed employment at Queen's University in Belfast, the second major project came out of his experience teaching ancient history. Even though Mommsen had dealt with the Roman Republican senate, the senate of the principate had long been left aside.⁴ Finding there was a neglected institution for which sufficient sources were available, Talbert embarked upon an extensive and systematic investigation, published in 1984. In a real sense his scope had moved from one person for whom there were sources to a whole group of individuals with sources. As with the first project, this work was anchored by numerous sources and turned out to be entirely rewarding for the field, winning the *Charles J. Goodwin Award of Merit* from the American Philological Association in 1987.⁵

Talbert's work with geography and cartography, the field with which many readers now connect him, began serendipitously. A chance meeting with Richard Stoneman in 1981 led to his taking the helm of a project to create an *Atlas of Classical History*, published in 1985. In addition to his new experience with the particulars of cartography, Talbert demonstrated an editorial sensibility and thoroughness for which he has become well regarded and a talent for

2 Talbert & Naiden, (2014) 171, 175–177.

3 Talbert (1974) ix.

4 Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* (Leipzig 1976).

5 See for instance reviews by W. Eck in *Gnomon* 57 (1985) 624–631; S. Martin in *JRS* 75 (1985) 222–228; T.D. Barnes in *Phoenix* 40 (1986) 109–111. See the comprehensive bibliography for the complete citations of reviews for all Talbert's volumes. The American Philological Association has recently changed its name to the Society for Classical Studies (SCS).

guiding a diverse set of regional experts toward a positive, timely conclusion. The book was intended to facilitate student use and has become a classroom standard, as would his next project. This was the first time his focus moved beyond ancient individuals to the ways in which they organized space as well as the ways in which modern readers can access the ancient world via maps.

In his next project Talbert returned to topics that had interested him as an undergraduate and new graduate student—Sparta and Plutarch. Finding the source translations his students employed to be antiquated, he sought to update the translation and so improve his pupils' own reliance on the available sources. In doing so he also provided extremely useful notes and references to augment the new translation. This project continued during his 1985 move to McMaster University, finally reaching publication in 1988. Following as it did a thoroughly historical monograph set in imperial Rome, *Plutarch on Sparta* may have seemed unusual to some in both its focus on Greece and as a translation, but its topic was consistent with Talbert's training, his continuing interest in the entire Greco-Roman world, and his refusal to be pigeon-holed into a small portion of it.

The translation was obviously not institutional history, but that theme was still present. The most extensive notes in the translation tend to be about Spartan institutions. Also, it led to Talbert developing what were then unorthodox ideas regarding the Spartan institution of Helotism. He published his views in a thoroughly researched and clear 1989 article demonstrating that the dominant views regarding Spartan Helots, then widely published by Paul Cartledge, were flawed because they were unsupported by the sources.⁶ As these had been topics that interested him since his undergraduate days and since it is not easy to work on Sparta without encountering the Helots, we need not see in this topic the influence of Finley's views on slavery. With Sparta, Talbert expanded his approach to an even larger group of people (some of whom lorded it over the rest) and their sources.

Talbert's involvement with the *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* began in 1988 when he was appointed as director.⁷ Although his involvement may seem sudden and unexpected, the prior review of Talbert's work shows that he had already taken an interest in cartography and geography and felt strongly about the necessity of scholars and students to have access to good tools, including maps. His 1987 review of Dilke's work on ancient maps demonstrated a continuing interest in the ways historians were thinking about these topics and an awareness of the new work on cartographic history then becoming available. As his reports to the NEH make clear, the Atlas was going to be a valuable and a rewarding project. It was a project that required a great

6 Talbert (1989); Cartledge *Historia* 40.3 (1991) 379–81.

7 Talbert (1990, 1991, and 2000).

deal of time with individuals and their maps. The project consumed more than a decade and has born fruit in a variety of ways beyond the *Atlas*.

The Barrington Atlas is certainly consistent with Talbert's prior pattern of producing useful and rewarding scholarship, but its impact was not limited to the publication. In addition to the large format book, the associated directories have been important resources. The project resulted in the creation of the Ancient World Mapping Center at The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and contributed to the launch of the Pleiades Project, an on-line resource for ancient studies (<http://pleiades.stoa.org>). Published in 2000, *Atlas* updates continue electronically and the project recently launched a handheld smart phone app., demonstrating that the results of this project will not be stuck in the past. The evolution of the *Barrington Atlas* project has shown that while Talbert continues to emphasize the importance of relying on the extant sources, he is a historian who makes full use of the abilities and technologies of his own time.

A large part of Richard Talbert's work since 1988 (see the bibliography), has been connected with his research on geography and cartographic history. Various publications in these areas of map-related studies were the result of his consideration of how scholars have dealt with the ways ancient people organized and communicated about space. The historiography behind cartographic history and modern cartography have also attracted his attention and led to additional insights. The breadth and variety of such individual and collaborative projects have resulted in Talbert's emerging as one of the foremost authorities on geographic and cartographic history, ancient and modern. Most recently for example, his examination of the "Peutinger map" in *Rome's World: the Peutinger Map Reconsidered* provides a new and broader approach to 'reading' and understanding this important document and the ways in which it offers us information about geographic mentality and the historiography of maps. His publications in this field, spread over more than two decades, reveal how his thoughts on topics including the Peutinger map and ancient map-mindedness have remained flexible and open to new ideas, thus evolving over time.⁸ He continues to impact the way we think about how ancient people organized space.

The recent focus on maps has not displaced Talbert's interest in institutional history. During the same period he has been producing much of his work on geographic and cartographic history he continued to work on topics related to ancient institutions. These works include research and publications

8 Compare, for example, the views on the Peutinger map in Talbert and Brodersen (2004) to those in Talbert (2010).

on the senate, Roman roads, the Roman emperor, and broader investigation of imperial courts.⁹ Within these works evidence for the influence of A.H.M. Jones, Fergus Millar, and David Potter remains strong. Through articles, special volumes, and studies Talbert has continued to make an impact on the way we conceive institutions and life in the ancient world.

Richard Talbert's vision of institutional history as an approach to studying Roman history and culture has also influenced many students who have focused attention on various institutions with the result that we have new studies on aspects of Roman culture as diverse as the empire's administration, the military, courts, *collegia*, and baths. In other words, his influence on the institutional historiography has reached far beyond his own works. Even though scholarly work on the Roman Empire in recent decades has been directed more towards economic, social, and cultural history, Talbert's work reminds us of how an understanding of the institutional foundations should continue to play a pivotal role in our analyses of the Roman world.

His pedagogical influence continues in *The Romans, from Village to Empire*. Far from being a diversion from his other interests, the pragmatic connection between his teaching and publications is a theme that has continued throughout Talbert's career and which finds its influences in his home and at Cambridge. His father had written several successful mathematics textbooks and his advisor, Moses Finley, took teaching seriously and wrote several clear books that could or should be employed as textbooks.¹⁰ Like his other education-related projects, *Atlas of Classical History* and *Plutarch on Sparta*, the textbook was the logical extension of his interest in teaching and bringing better, useful textbooks to students and teachers to facilitate understanding of the Roman world. The *Senate of Imperial Rome* too had grown out of his teaching. *The Romans, from Village to Empire* was a collaborative project in 2004 with Mary Boatwright and Daniel Gargola. Quality maps were an integral part of the textbook, a feature further augmented by his set of wall maps for Routledge. Later editions of the book extended the coverage by adding Noel Lenski's work on the Late Empire, increasing its usefulness. In addition to his books Talbert developed an engaging presentation style that holds his audiences' attention without sacrificing the material. Producing work that was accessible and useful for anyone trying to understand the world was a quality Talbert internalized, made his own, and communicated to his students and colleagues.

9 See the comprehensive bibliography entries after 2000 for the diversity of work focused on institutions.

10 Naiden and Talbert (2014) 176–77.

This volume presents a collection of essays by former students and colleagues of Richard John Alexander Talbert. They honor him through these essays for his contributions to and impact on the fields of ancient history, political and social science, as well as cartography and geography. Similar to the great variety of subjects that Talbert has dealt with in his publications, the articles in this volume show a broad range of topics as well. This diversity echoes the number of topics and themes still in need of exploration, refinement and reconsideration even after centuries of scholarly study. However, the essays have one important feature in common: they all focus on and are connected to the ways in which Talbert has influenced the discipline of History.

The various sections of our volume are set up around the two core themes of Talbert's work: institutions and geography. As the Roman senate was the subject of Talbert's pivotal study and a core institution of the Roman state both during the Republic and the early Principate, the volume includes several essays on the senate and senators that will show how new perspectives on the senate in the Late Republic, under Augustus, and afterwards continue to further refine our knowledge.

An analysis by Philip Stadter of Plutarch's familiarity with the formal stages of a Roman senatorial career—especially since the *cursus honorum* had no parallel in Greek political practice—shows us both how the Romans were able to present their institutions to foreigners, and how senators were viewed by an outsider who thereby, one could argue, “Romanized” several of his biographies. The historiography of the imperial senate and Augustus' attempts at reform are the topics of Scott Perry's chapter. Perry is particularly interested in Ronald Syme's treatment of the *lex Julia de senatu habendo* of 9 BC, in which Augustus tried to curb senatorial absenteeism, and subsequently Talbert's different ideas on the law.

Although the imperial senate took its role as a political court seriously, our knowledge of individual trials comes primarily from Tacitus' *Annals*. Leanne Bablitz, while observing that Tacitus' reports of the trials are idiosyncratic varying in length and detail, demonstrates how we should be careful in reading Tacitus' accounts of the senate's trials, as he—this will come as no surprise—employs the descriptions of these trials for his own objectives as an author. Sarah Bond, in her examination of the history of the various Roman senate houses, shows how especially the restoration projects on these buildings functioned as an opportunity for the legitimization of power and influence for those who initiated such projects.

The political and social institutions of Rome are part of a larger group of institutions that together defined the functioning of the Roman Empire and

through which the Romans viewed and organized their world. Many of these institutions still need more clarification, as becomes clear in two of the essays focused on socio-political institutions. One such institution critical to perceptions and descriptions of the Roman world was the military. We now recognize that the military of the later Republic and early Principate was more inclined to mutiny and indiscipline than was formerly accepted, but Lee L. Brice shows how reinstitution of social control after incidents of military unrest kept this restive military from becoming a threat to stability and how this pattern contributes to explaining why the army became such a problem later. Another Roman institution that spread throughout the Roman world as Rome set up permanent colonies and then forts was gladiatorial combat. Despite the fascination these games still inspire, the administration and the nature of life in gladiatorial training schools represents one of these topics that needs further examination. As Garrett Fagan argues, it remains a great paradox to us how men in these schools lived together and simultaneously trained together to learn how to kill each other.

Roman institutions reached the local level of the provinces in many different ways. Studying these aspects of ancient Rome requires more obvious blending of institutional and geographic focus. Throughout the many centuries of Roman rule the inhabitants of the empire grew accustomed to the presence of many different officials representing the Roman government. Werner Eck's contribution focuses on the relationship between Roman officials and provincial subjects. His close examination of statues and busts with accompanying inscriptions—there are many thousands of them—honoring Roman officials in the provinces such as governors, tribunes, centurions or imperial freedmen demonstrates that these inscriptions should not be taken as honorary though 'empty' messages and argues that these were often preceded by an actual deed of the person being honored. Dio Chrysostom's local activities in Prusa are the target of the subject of Christopher Fuhrmann's study as he tries to reveal what we can learn about provincial elites' attempts to negotiate the fine line between local and imperial politics. His critical portrait of Dio and his troubled community of Prusa makes us question whether their issues are exceptional or whether many other cities in the empire struggled in similar fashion. Modern scholarship has so far not yet paid much attention to the meaning of the boundaries of the provinces, dioceses and prefectures. With a particular focus on the role and borders of dioceses, Daniëlle Slootjes focuses both on the functioning of Late Antique administrative structures as well as notions and awareness of geography.

The second part of the book is oriented around that more obvious method for thinking of the physical world—geography and cartography. The chapters

in this section offer a much greater breadth of topics, a reflection of Talbert's own wide impact on the field.

The worldview of the Romans stood in longer traditions of peoples located around the Mediterranean who tried to get a grip on the geographic dimensions of their world. Cheryl Golden takes us back to the world of Thucydides. Even though his use of geography has seldom been analyzed, Golden's close reading of several passages including the Archaeology and the Sicilian expedition demonstrates Thucydides' in-depth knowledge of the locations under discussion in his work, even though geography and cartography were not his prime field of interest. Two centuries later, when Alexander the Great decided to campaign into Asia, he moved—as Fred Naiden argues—into territories he was unfamiliar with and without maps of, for instance, Anatolia. While taking some 'peculiar' routes as we might think in hindsight, Alexander gained knowledge of the geography while being on the road with his troops.

The sheer size of the empire, its division into provincial territories that were ruled by Roman governors and the ways in which people traveled through the many regions of the empire created various geographic mentalities and ways in which the Romans perceived their world (both within and outside the Empire's territory). As the contributions will demonstrate, the visualization of the empire occurred on different levels, ranging from geographical precision to a more symbolic reference to the empire's power. Mary Boatwright's analysis of the Porticus Vipsania, its marble public world map commissioned by Agrippa and seven geographical monuments that were built nearby, draws attention to our difficulties in understanding how Romans 'read' both the map and the monuments. Boatwright's contribution offers a reconstruction of the visitors' and inhabitants' acculturative experience while moving through Rome from the north to the area of at the northern foot of the Capitoline's Arx.

Although no map accompanied his text, Velleius Paterculus illustrates a similar concern with perceptions of the power and extent of the Roman Empire. Brian Turner, in testing one of Richard Talbert's models of how the Romans viewed their world, shows that a fresh look at what Velleius knew about the world and at his reconstruction of that world, presents us with insights into the Roman worldview and the politics of a nascent empire. And even though Velleius was imprecise about the size and shape of provinces, as he saw them as spatial entities that contained peoples and cities, he nevertheless was able to offer his audience a sense of the political and geographic space of the empire.

Jerzy Linderski's detailed and strongly philological analysis of locations as presented by Cicero in his letters to and from his friends and family

demonstrates how more precise knowledge of such locations, in particular in the Italian peninsula, might even help us in our understanding of the chronology of some of the key historical events in the Late Republic.

John Donahue takes his reader on a journey along the 17 securely attested healing springs or spas in Latium and Etruria. These less well studied locations were places where people, including emperors, went for relief from a variety of physical ailments, but we should also consider them in the wider context of conceptions of ancient religion and travel, and as part of Roman culture.

Although it might not occur to a modern observer, sundials were another kind of map, but of the sun's movements across the sky. In his contribution, George Houston examines what extant sundials reveal about Roman understanding of time and geography and finds that like public maps they convey a message in which their accuracy is less important than their presence and their patron.

An examination by Michael Maas of Late Antique authors such as Procopius of Caesarea, pseudo-Caesarius, John of Ephesos, Maurice, and Isidore of Sevilla presents us with cultural notions of geography in the sense that their discussions on the effects of the environment on health, human communities and human character illustrate how knowledge of geography played a role in the development of an environmental determinism that we do not know from earlier periods.

Cumulative Bibliography of Works by Richard J.A. Talbert

Tom Elliott

Preliminary Remarks

The following chronological list offers a catalog of all of Richard Talbert's scholarly publications, as well as major reviews thereof. Wherever possible, information is provided about digital modes of access and the availability of reprints.¹

1971

"Corinthian Silver Coinage and the Sicilian Economy, c. 340 to c. 290 B.C.," *NC* 131: 53–66.

1974

Timoleon and the Revival of Greek Sicily, 344–317 B.C. London.

Based on Ph.D. dissertation (1971) *Studies on Timoleon and the revival of Greek Sicily from 344 to 317 B.C.* Cambridge.

1 The digital bibliographic records from which this listing was constructed may be accessed and downloaded via a Zotero group library: <https://www.zotero.org/groups/rjat>. I believe the contents of these records to be data in the public domain under U.S. law; to the extent that I may have added value to this data through my intellectual work in its compilation and preparation, I have waived all of my rights to the work worldwide under copyright law, including all related and neighboring rights. Insofar as I have succeeded in being complete and accurate in the compilation of this bibliography, I am indebted to the unknown library catalogers and metadata creators responsible for relevant records in the *Gnomon Bibliographische Datenbank*, *JSTOR*, *L'Année Philologique*, *OCLC WorldCat*, and various publishers' websites, as well as to the programmers who have made these records searchable and retrievable over the World-Wide Web. I also had recourse to the biographical *Wikipedia* article "Richard Talbert"; (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Richard_Talbert) to which the anonymous "Torquatus"; has made a number of helpful bibliographic additions over the past two years. I was able to consult Talbert's own summary CV, dating to summer 2013, posted online by the Department of History at UNC-CH: <http://history.unc.edu/files/2012/06/Talbert-CV-summer-2013.pdf> and also various hand lists and other documents circulated among Talbert's students and colleagues and provided by my editors. Forthcoming work that I could not verify as having been contracted yet with a press has been passed over in silence. Despite such aid, one always fears that errors and omissions may remain; these I claim as wholly my own.

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PART 2

Roman Institutions



Plutarchan Prosopography: The *Cursus Honorum*

Philip A. Stadter

Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* recognized the distinct contexts in which his Roman and Greek heroes acted. In particular, his presentation of the *cursus honorum* differentiated Roman political careers from those of Greek leaders. This brief exploration of Plutarch's treatment of senatorial careers seems especially appropriate to honor Richard Talbert, whose *Senate of Imperial Rome* laid out clearly the nature and significance of that central institution as it was in the period when Plutarch formed his ideas on Rome.¹

A Roman statesman was honored according to the offices he had held, the crises he had faced, the victories he had won, and the triumphs he had celebrated.² All this was recorded, displayed, and remembered, both privately and publicly. Neither the Greek cities nor the Hellenistic kingdoms advanced leaders through an ordered sequence of office as did the Roman *cursus honorum*. Plutarch, as he pursued his biographical project, learned to employ a format which would incorporate and profit from this central fact of political life, effectively "Romanizing" his biographies.³

Plutarch's treatment of the disparate careers of two contemporaries may serve to introduce some of the issues involved. The *Life of Cicero* marks every office that the orator held as he proceeded in regular progression through the *cursus*: quaestor, aedile, praetor, and consul, as well as his proconsulship in Cilicia and his priesthood as augur. The biographer associates these offices with rich anecdotal material. Thus his quaestorship led to the prosecution of Verres, as praetor he presided over two high-profile trials, and as consul he defeated the Catilinarian conspiracy.⁴ Plutarch used Cicero's career structure

1 Talbert (1984). I am grateful for the careful reading and comments of Jerzy Linderski and Christopher Pelling on an earlier draft; the errors which remain are wholly mine.

2 For the offices of the *cursus* and its changes over time, see Kunkel and Wittman (1995), especially 43–51; Gizewski (2003); Brennan (1996). Cicero lists the rewards of a successful political career, *Pro Cluentio* 154. This paper treats Plutarch's accounts of careers, not our modern reconstructions of them.

3 See the Appendix for full references.

4 Even the minor incident of the Sicilians' generosity connected with Cicero's aedileship (*Cic.* 8.1) Plutarch finds useful for his comparison with Demosthenes, cf. *Comp. Dem.-Cic.* 3.3.

as a framework for characterizing stories and to illustrate how the power of his oratory gave him political influence. However the orator's later offices are left vague.⁵

Contrast his presentation of Pompey the Great's anomalous career: "Pompey at the age of twenty-three, although never appointed by anyone praetor, gave himself imperium" (*Pomp.* 6.5), that is, he assumed the authority normally granted a propraetor.⁶ Shortly thereafter, having defeated three anti-Sullan armies, he was saluted by Sulla as *imperator* (*Pomp.* 8.3). The implication is that Sulla recognized his self-conferred rank. Immediately thereafter the senate sent him with *imperium* to Africa (11.1), where his soldiers saluted him again as *imperator* (12.4). Plutarch also notes that although Sulla granted Pompey the unofficial title *Magnus* (13.7), he balked at granting him a triumph, since that honor by law was only permitted to a consul or praetor (14.1). But Pompey insisted, Sulla yielded, and Pompey not only celebrated his triumph in extraordinary fashion but did so as an *eques*, having refused to accept appointment to the senate (14.2–11). He soon received from the senate further appointments as proconsul against Lepidus and against Sertorius (16.3, 17.3–4).⁷ Plutarch, noting that he then celebrated a second triumph and was elected consul, vividly paints the scene where Pompey surrendered his public horse to the censors (22.1–9). Only then did this exceptional leader assume a regular magistracy of the *cursus*—as consul, and before the legal age. Pompey would go on to other extraordinary offices, but the point is clear. Plutarch shows that he is fully aware of, and wishes his readers to appreciate, the irregularity of Pompey's career. In *Cicero*, he could show the regular *cursus*, and how one could rise to prominence within it; in *Pompey*, he demonstrated how that system could breakdown under the pressure of political crisis and extraordinary individual ambition and ability.

Honor, Reputation, and the *cursus honorum*

Roman aristocrats such as those celebrated by Plutarch exhibited an obsessive concern for the honors won by members of their family over the generations,

5 He served with the Pompeian forces 49–47 BC and under Dolabella in 44: cf. for these years *MRR* 2: 264, 278, 289, 331.

6 Plutarch employs στρατηγός, his usual term for *praetor*, and τὸ ἄρχειν here would seem to mean *imperium*, as Pompey immediately recruits three legions.

7 Plutarch reports Marcius Philippus' quip, that Pompey should be sent not just as proconsul (ἀνθύπατον), but in place of the consuls (ἀνθ' ὑπάτων, 17.4): cf. Cicero *Leg. Man.* 62, non . . . pro consule, sed pro consulibus.

honors which demonstrated their elite status and justified their own election to the higher magistracies.⁸ This pride in honors received took visible and physical form in two distinctive practices: the preservation of the masks (*imagines*) of their ancestors in the atria of Roman noble families and the funeral processions with actors wearing these masks at the death of family members.⁹ Each mask was provided with a label, *titulus*, giving the name of the dead ancestor, and an *elogium* listing his claim to fame, that is, precisely the offices he had held, and his campaigns and eventual triumphs. Similar lists of office were recorded on their tombs.

The emperor Augustus assembled in his new forum more than a hundred statues of famous heroes and his own ancestors. Beneath each statue was inscribed the hero's name and an *elogium* giving his magistracies and noteworthy achievements. The forum thus became a kind of biographical dictionary of the Roman past, at least as far as Augustus chose to honor the old families. Among the figures whose *tituli* are at least partially preserved we can identify many who were celebrated by Plutarch: Camillus (no. 61), Fabius Maximus (no. 80), Aemilius Paullus (no. 81), Marius (no. 17 and 83), Sulla (no. 18), and Lucullus (no. 84). Three of these *tituli*, Fabius, Aemilius, and Lucullus, are preserved complete in the copy from Arezzo. In addition, Romulus and Scipio Aemilianus are known to have been included. However, apparently no one from the last years of the Republic was honored. Augustus chose thus to exclude many men whom Plutarch would treat: Crassus, Pompey, Caesar, Cicero, Brutus, Cato, and Antony.¹⁰

Plutarch on his visits to Rome could see firsthand either in the occasional funeral procession,¹¹ in contemporary inscriptions, or in Augustus' magnificent forum the importance of the *cursus honorum* to Roman statesmen and to Roman political life. Of course, the offices of the *cursus* were now overshadowed by the authority and power of the *princeps*. In addition, minimum ages for office had been lowered, so that one could be quaestor at 25, praetor at 30. Nevertheless the offices, especially praetor and consul, gave access to major positions in imperial administration and so continued as important steps

8 At *Quaest. Rom.* 13, 266F, Plutarch translates the word *honor* as δόξα (reputation, fame) or τιμή (honor).

9 See Flower (1996). Plutarch would have known the description of the practice in Polybius 6.53.4–10.

10 For the *elogia* of the *forum Augusti*, see *ILLRP*; Zanker (1988) 210–15; Spannagel (1999); Flower (1996) 224–36. Frisch (1980) 97–98 would include Pompey. Luce (1990) 130 argues that Livy used a different source from the *elogia*.

11 See Flower (1996) 256–62.

in a senatorial career.¹² In Plutarch's day, under the Flavians and Trajan, the norm was for there to be six to ten consuls per year, and eighteen praetors. The emperor would also occasionally appoint individuals directly into the senate (*adlectio*) or at praetorian rank. Thus the *cursus* Plutarch knew at first hand from the careers of his Roman friends continued the same offices as under the Republic and inspired similar ambition, competition for honor, and pride in office.¹³

The *cursus* in Antiquarian Writing, Memoirs, and Biography

Where might Plutarch have found a statesman's *cursus*? Roman historians did not usually trace the full *cursus* of a politician or commander. Even the more antiquarian-minded writers, such as Atticus in his *Liber annalis* and Nepos in his *Chronica*, seem to have listed the consuls and notable events, but not minor offices. Varro, the Republic's greatest polymath, in his *Imagines* gave portraits of some 700 Greeks and Romans, beginning with the gods, but the epigrams which accompanied them, to judge from the few extant, were quite general and would not have contained a detailed *cursus*.¹⁴ The similar project of Atticus, combining portraits of statesmen with verses describing their deeds and magistracies (*facta magistratusque eorum*) in four or five lines, may have given a fuller *cursus* (Nepos *Att.* 18.5–6). Atticus, in addition to the *Liber annalis*, also composed separate, and presumably much more detailed, accounts of the Iunii, Claudii Marcelli, Fabii and Aemilii for his friends of those families (Nepos *Att.* 18.4). Atticus' research, we may suppose, allowed Cicero to revel in the facts of Cato's life in *On old age*. There he assigns consular dates to Cato's first stipendium, quaestorship, service as consul in Spain, and censorship, as

12 See Talbert (1984) 16–27.

13 E.g., C. Minicius Fundanus (viiivir epulonum, trib. mil., quaest. trib. pl., praet., leg. legate, cos. suff. in 107). The dedicatee of the *Lives*, Sosius Senecio, if the attribution of an acephelous inscription is correct, was especially distinguished: quaestor, trib. pl. (candidatus Caesaris), praetor (candidatus Caesaris), legionary legate in lower Germany, cos. I ord., cos. II ord. See Jones (1971) 54–59.

14 Atticus' *Liber annalis* gave a year-by-year list of offices and major events: Nepos, *Att.* 18.1–2, cf. *HRR*² 2: 6–8, Münzer (1905). For the six preserved *elogia* from Varro's *Imagines*, see Baehrens (1886) 295–96. However, none of these refers to a historical figure. Rawson (1985) 230–47 gives an overview.

well as many other events. However, he does not mention Cato's service as plebeian aedile or praetor: did Atticus know those dates?¹⁵

Other written accounts which might have included a full *cursus* include personal memoirs such as Sulla's, funeral orations, or the kind of personal and political memoirs, sometimes verging on hagiography, which flourished at the end of the Republic.¹⁶ Cicero offered a review of Antony's career in his *Second Philippic*, and both his *Cato* and Caesar's *Anti-Cato* may have done the same.

Biographies could also include a full *cursus*. Nepos incorporated his research into his own collections of lives, if we can judge from the one surviving example of his lives of Romans. His short *Life of Cato Censor*, excerpted from his book on the Latin historians, offers the clearest example of the *cursus* in Roman biographies and suggests his normal practice for the Roman lives of his *De viris illustribus*.¹⁷ In rapid order Nepos lists Cato's first military service (1.2), then his magistracies as quaestor under P. Scipio Africanus, aedile with C. Helvius, and praetor given the province of Sardinia (1.3), and finally consul and censor with L. Valerius Flaccus (2.1, 3). The list of offices provides pegs for brief annotations on items such as his service at the battle of Sena, his bringing the poet Ennius to Rome, or his life-long contrast with Scipio. Nepos' summary account of Cato's *cursus* is followed by a general account of his activities, including his *Origines*. Presumably Nepos' fuller life of Cato, written separately for Atticus (cf. 3.5), repeated the same format, though undoubtedly much expanded.

Nepos may be unique. Another biography of this period, Nicolaus of Damascus' *Life of Augustus*, does not seem to emphasize offices in the same way. That may be a reflection of its preservation, since our major fragments break off in 44 BC, before the young Octavian had held any office of the *cursus*. One might have expected, however, to find his designation as *Magister equitum* for 43 (cf. *MRR* 2.319). Nicolaus notes that he was made pontifex (4, §9) but does not give a title to his service as *praefectus urbi Feriarum Latinarum*—not of course a part of the *cursus* (5, §13).

We do not know how Augustus himself treated his *cursus* in his autobiography, but the initial section of the *Res Gestae*, composed by him for display after his death, delineates his lightning career. He states that after he had raised a personal army, he was made a senator, given *imperium*, and acted as propraetor

15 Cicero refers to the *liber annalis* and asks Atticus for additional specific historical information at *Att.* 12.23.2 (no. 262 Shackleton Bailey) and 13.30 (no. 303 SB).

16 On Sulla's memoirs, often cited by Plutarch, see Brennan (1992) 106–11.

17 The separate *Life of Atticus* does not exhibit a *cursus*, since Atticus remained an *eques*: cf. Nepos *Att.* 6.1–2.

when Hirtius and Pansa were consuls, then, in the same year, 43 BC, was made consul and triumvir *rei publicae constituendae* (1.1–4). After this introduction, which amounts to an extremely abbreviated *cursus*, he gives a summary of his actions, grouping his innumerable honors by categories, including two ovations and three triumphs (4.1), thirteen consulships and thirty-seven years with tribunician power (4.4), his ten years as triumvir (7.1), and multiple priesthoods (7.3). Despite the extreme irregularity of his career, he presented his offices as an essential element of his claim to honors. In fact, the extraordinary speed of his progress to the consulship—faster even than Pompey’s—and his numerous offices thereafter enhanced and confirmed his greatness.

Finally, we may glance at a Roman imperial biographer’s treatment of the *cursus*. Suetonius’ life of Julius Caesar, whose career until his consulship followed a traditional path, shows the biographer following the republican model recognizable in Nepos. He reports in order Caesar’s vain designation as *flamen dialis* (1.1), his first campaign (2.1), his election as military tribune (5.1), and service as quaestor (6.1), aedile (10.1), praetor (14.1), proconsul in Spain (18.1), and finally consul (19.1–2) and proconsul in Gaul (23.1). In each case, the name of the new office begins the sentence and paragraph, serving as a heading. (His election as *pontifex maximus* is reported at 13.1, but not highlighted in the same manner.) Suetonius then shifts to a more general narrative, first of Caesar’s actions in Gaul, then of the civil war (23–35), and to treatment by categories, beginning with his triumphs (37.1), with no further mention of his offices. Finally, at the end of the life, under the category of *honores . . . nimios*, the biographer mentions his later consulships and dictatorships (76.1–2). In Suetonius’ presentation, Caesar followed a standard Republican *cursus* until his first consulship, after which the proconsulship in Gaul and the civil war led to a whole new kind of career. The life of Augustus requires different handling. Suetonius in his early chapters elides treatment of the young Octavian’s offices, leaping directly from his recruitment of an army to his control of the *res publica*, first as triumvir, then with Antony alone, then as sole ruler (8.3). The niceties of the senatorial *cursus* here yield to the realities of power. Suetonius reserves the listing of offices to a special section, cc. 26–27, where he notes Octavian’s first consulship, seized at nineteen, and the others which followed, the triumvirate, the tribunician power, and his unofficial role as censor. Still following his presentation by categories, Suetonius separately notes Augustus’ assumption of the office of *pontifex maximus* (31.1), though not the many other priesthoods that Augustus claimed in the *Res Gestae*.

In Nepos’ *Cato Censor* and Suetonius’ *Divus Julius*, different as they are, we can recognize a common mode of representing a distinguished senatorial career. Dim traces of this standard are still recognizable in the *Res Gestae*,

the fragments of Nicolaus' biography of Augustus, and Suetonius' *Augustus*. Surprisingly, Plutarch, a Greek, supplies our best records in biographical format for the *cursus*.

The *cursus* in the *Parallel Lives*: The Early Lives

Plutarch made his first excursion into Roman history recounting the recent past in the *Lives of the Caesars*, his biographies of the emperors from Augustus to Vitellius.¹⁸ These lives showed an awareness of the Roman magistracies, but no effort to furnish a complete *cursus*. The extant *Galba* and *Otho* do not give a full account of the early lives of these emperors.

How then did Plutarch treat the *cursus honorum* in his most ambitious work, treating the great heroes of the Republic and the major actors of the civil wars which had given birth to the principate? Insofar as we can divine the compositional chronology of the *Parallel Lives* the first ten Roman lives do not attempt to present a complete *cursus*.¹⁹ In the early Republican lives—*Publicola*, *Camillus*, *Fabius*, *Marcellus*—Plutarch reports only the major offices of consul (or military tribune with consular powers) and dictator, either because no others were recorded or they seemed unimportant to him.²⁰

Fabius' career in Plutarch begins with his consulship, then moves immediately to his appointment as dictator in 217 (*Fab.* 2.1, 3.7–14.1). For the rest, Plutarch speaks only generally of the many commands both he and Marcellus held, and that each was five times consul (19.6, cf. *Marc.* 9.6). He mentions Fabius' triumph for his victory at Tarentum (23.1–2), but not the fact that he was consul at the time.²¹ Marcellus' five consulships and his two proconsulships are listed in his life, but Plutarch passes over his two praetorships of (perhaps) 224 and 216.²²

18 Cf. Stadter (2005); Pelling (2010) 415–28. In AD 69 Plutarch would have been about 25 or 30 years old.

19 Cf. most recently Nikolaidis (2005) 318, who suggests the order *Scipio Maior*, *Marcellus*, *Lucullus*, *Flaminius*, *Cicero* (5), *Numa*, *Romulus*, *Publicola*, *Camillus*, *Fabius* (10).

20 See Appendix. Publicola had no prior republican office; the tradition varies between four or five consulships: see *MRR* 1: 6, n. 1. No offices prior to the censorship are known for Camillus.

21 Plutarch knew that consulships gave prominence to Fabius' family: cf. ch. 24 for the five consulships and the triumphs of his great-grandfather, Q. Fabius Maximus Rullianus, as well as other consulships.

22 Brennan (2001) 1: 284. *Marc.* 2 mentions his election as curule aedile and as augur. Cf. Flower (2003) 39–52.

In *Flamininus*, another life presumed to be early, Plutarch notes that his protagonist was military tribune, governor of Tarentum, and founder of Narnia and Cosa, before his major offices as consul and censor, but is silent on the quaestorship mentioned by Livy.²³ Plutarch rightly notes that he had passed over the offices of aedile and praetor to stand for the consulship, but mistakenly suggests that he omitted a term as plebeian tribune, since as a patrician he would not have been eligible for the office.

This review indicates that Plutarch, when composing these eight *Lives*, thought of the consulship and dictatorship as particularly important, but found little reason to speak of lesser offices, unless connected with some remarkable episode.²⁴ His project in these lives seems to have been to present great men responding to crises as consuls or dictator with full power to act.

Of the two remaining lives that we ascribe to his first ten pairs, both of which treat the first century BC, *Cicero*, as has been noted, gives a full *cursus*. The *Lucullus* shows more anomalies. Plutarch skips Lucullus' praetorship, leaping directly to his consulship (*Luc.* 5.1) and appointment to Cilicia. His election as aedile comes out of sequence (1.9), as part of the preliminary sketch of character. More strikingly, he devotes several chapters (2–4) to Lucullus' notable actions as proquaestor under Sulla, but never mentions the office he held, despite the fact that Lucullus had saved Chaeronea, Plutarch's home town. The *Cimon-Lucullus* pair is probably the third to be composed and *Lucullus* the first life to treat the period after the *lex Villia annalis* had established a firm structure of advancement through the *cursus*. Apparently Plutarch had not yet decided that a clear and complete presentation of a Roman statesman's *cursus* was necessary, even when the information was available.

The *cursus* in the *Parallel Lives*: The Later Lives

The later lives of the series, on the other hand, are remarkable for two contrasting features: the increased regularity of his treatment of the *cursus*, and the breakdown of the *cursus* structure, beginning with lives of the Gracchi and continuing until the fall of the Republic.

23 Livy 32.7, *ex quaestoriis*. Flamininus must have acted *pro praetore* in Tarentum and been one of the *triumviri coloniae deducendae* for Narnia and Cosa (Plutarch apparently combines the latter notice from different occasions, listed separately in Livy: cf. *MRR* 1: 326 n. 7). On the careers of Fabius Maximus, Marcellus, and Flamininus, see recently Beck (2005).

24 Note that Livy too usually omits offices prior to aedile in his annalistic notices.

For both *Cato Censor* and *Aemilius Paullus*, the *cursus* is almost complete. Plutarch omits only aedile for Cato the Elder and quaestor for Aemilius. Nepos had included the office of aedile in his short life (*Cat. Mai.* 1.3, cf. also Livy 32.7.13). Plutarch may have omitted it, although he almost certainly knew Nepos' life, because neither Nepos nor the rest of the tradition had anything of interest to report about it.²⁵ Notice of Aemilius' quaestorship survives only in his inscribed *elogium*, and Plutarch may not have known anything about it.²⁶

In chronologically later lives, from the Gracchi to Sertorius, entries for the *cursus* seem to reflect the fragility of the Republic more than its stability. The Gracchi hardly had a regular *cursus* at all after their quaestorships, since they both were killed by their opponents when they campaigned for a second term as tribunes. Marius' career is notable for its anomalies, not only his extraordinary seven consulships, each carefully recorded by Plutarch, but for his multiple rejections, both by the voters and by his patron Metellus. The life begins with his first service as a soldier (*Mar.* 3.2) and his tribunate.²⁷ Then, having been rejected in the elections for curule aedile, he immediately ran for plebeian aedile and was rejected on the same day (*Mar.* 5.1–2, cf. Cicero *Planc.* 51). After election as praetor, he faced great difficulties before being elected consul. Plutarch carefully registers Marius' six consecutive consulships. His return to Rome and brief seventh consulship mark a sad end to a brilliant career. In contrast, the career of his long-time opponent, Sulla, is reasonably straightforward until his consulship. Plutarch uniquely records his legateship and military tribunate under Marius in Gaul in 104 and 103 (*Sull.* 4.1), and notes that he chose not to present himself as aedile and lost the first time he ran for praetor. However, he does not attempt to follow the offices held during the Social War nor the legal basis (he was proconsul, but an outlaw) of his power in Greece. After Sulla's return and the ensuing slaughter, Plutarch's reference to Sulla's assumption of the dictatorship suggests almost a return to normality, a revival of an ancient office (33.1). The truncated *cursus* in the *Life of Sertorius* illustrates the breakdown of the republican compact in a different way. Only Plutarch records Sertorius' quaestorship in Cisalpine Gaul (*Sert.* 4.1), but he never specifies the office which gave him authority to rule in Spain from 83 to his death. Reasonably so, given the situation as he presents it at the beginning of chapter 6: the elder Marius was now dead, Cinna had been killed, the younger Marius had made himself consul, and Carbo, Norbanus, and Scipio

25 Plutarch cites Nepos at *Marc.* 30.5 and *Comp.* 1.8, *Luc.* 43.2, and *Ti. Gracch.* 21.3.

26 Degraffi, *ILLRP* 13.3, no. 81.

27 Plutarch mentions Marius' life at Arpinum (3.1), but not that he had been rejected for municipal office (*Val. Max.* 6.9.14).

were incompetent to resist Sulla's return. Sertorius finally decided to abandon Rome and establish himself in Spain. In this lawless moment, power went to those who could seize it.²⁸

The disruptions of the *cursus* in these lives mark the tensions which were tearing apart the established order of what Harriet Flower terms "the third Republic".²⁹ From the Gracchi's attempt to strengthen the tribunate by extending their term of office, through Marius' insatiable desire for more consulates and more acclaim, to Sulla's uncompromising and extreme defense of his own position, Plutarch displays the disintegration of customary practices for the sharing and transmission of power among the leading families.

The two greatest figures of the Late Republic and of Plutarch's Roman lives were Pompey and Caesar. Plutarch's treatment of the coruscating brilliance of Pompey's rise to power, leapfrogging all senatorial office before the consulship, has already been considered. Caesar's career took a different path, one of steady progress through the *cursus*, until, aided by Pompey himself, he achieved the consulship and received the command in Gaul. The glory, army, and booty won in Gaul allowed him to confront Pompey in Italy and defeat him at Pharsalus. The two lives were composed in the same period, but their treatment, like the heroes themselves, is antithetical. For *Caesar* the biographer carefully marked each stage, from military tribune and quaestor to consul. After Pompey's defeat, Plutarch goes on to record precisely his repeated dictatorships and consulships, until he was named *dictator perpetuus* (*Caes.* 57.1) and met his death. The marked difference in their progress through the *cursus* as presented by Plutarch recalls the fable of the tortoise and the hare: Pompey fast off the mark, sprinting well ahead of Caesar, yet faltering in mid-career, and unable to complete the race for preeminence.

There remain the also-rans, Crassus and Cato Uticensis, and the *epigoni*, Brutus and Antony. Crassus' life begins in irregular fashion. No office designation is preserved for his initial service under Sulla in 83 and 82 (*Crass.* 6.2–7, cf. *Sull.* 28.16, 30.1).³⁰ He seems to enter the *cursus* as *strategos*—either a praetor or a proconsul—appointed for the war against Spartacus (*Crass.* 10.1).³¹ What

28 According to App. *BCiv* 1.86 Sertorius had already been assigned Spain as a province, presumably when a praetor, but the date of this office is uncertain: cf. Konrad, (1994) 74–76, *MRR* 3.193, Brennan (2001) 2: 379.

29 Flower (2010) 26–27.

30 Cf. *MRR* 2: 65, 71 and 74 n. 9. At *Sull.* 28.16, Plutarch speaks of Pompey, Crassus, Metellus, and Servilius as commanders (στρατηγῶν) of Sulla, but their rank is uncertain. Cf. also Appian *BCiv.* 1.90. Ward (1977) offers an overview.

31 For the contradictory evidence, see *MRR* 2: 110, 118, and 121 n. 2.

offices Sulla might have conferred on him are a matter of speculation. Neither Plutarch nor any of our other sources are specific about any previous offices. Thereafter he proceeded to his famous consulship with Pompey, censorship, second consulship with Pompey, and his disastrous Parthian campaign as proconsul in Syria. Plutarch provocatively notes that as censor he could be thought to have surpassed Pompey in status (ἀξιωμα, *Comp.* 2.4), although he never matched Pompey's triumphs. Turning to Cato, we find that his career is fully delineated, including even his priesthood of Apollo (as a *quindecimvir sacris faciundis*, *Cat. Min.* 4.1), his first military service (8.1), and the military tribunate (9.1). His election as praetor for 54 BC (44.1) marked the high point of his *cursus*, since in the tumult of the following years he never became consul, although he proposed his candidature in 52 for 51 BC (49.2). Like Coriolanus, he could not bend to please the people, or even his own colleagues in the senate.³²

The years of conflict also rendered Brutus' *cursus* highly unusual: Plutarch notes that he served as a legate in Cilicia and governed Cisalpine Gaul for Caesar, was chosen *praetor urbanus*, and *pro praetore* in Crete, but does not give legal definition to the power that he assumed in the East in 44 and 43 BC, except at *Brut.* 27.2, where he mentions the senate's confirmation of his (unspecified) provinces. Of the two *cursus* offices Brutus is known to have held, Plutarch names the urban praetorship, but omits the quaestorship. Plutarch's attention in this life is drawn to presenting actions and relationships more than offices. Brutus' interactions with Caesar, Pompey, Cassius, and Antony meant more than the posts he held at any given time.

Antony's early *cursus* is almost complete in Plutarch's *Life*, omitting only the quaestorship mentioned by Cicero and his one-day second consulship while he was in Armenia in 34, but including even his service as *praefectus equitum* (*Ant.* 3.1) along with his famous tribunate in 49, his propraetorian command in Italy, and the appointments as Caesar's *magister equitum* and later as his consular colleague. However, the situation after Caesar's assassination was extremely fluid, and the biographer makes no attempt to specify the shifting arrangements which Antony and the others made to justify their power. The naked greed and savagery which marked the establishment of the triumvirate (19.1–4) obviated the need for a precise name, but Plutarch speaks clearly of hostility toward 'the rule of the three' (ἡ τῶν τριῶν ἀρχή) at 21.1.

32 Cf. *Cat. Min.* 49.5–6. Apart from the kings, only six of Plutarch's heroes were not consuls or consular tribunes: Coriolanus, the two Gracchi, Sertorius, Cato Minor, and Brutus.

Some Conclusions

For Plutarch, writing under Trajan, even the lives of the civil war period were ancient history. Antony had died in Alexandria some one hundred thirty years—five generations—previously. Although the Greek lives in general precede the Roman (the last Greek hero, Philopoemen, died a century and a half before Antony) the Roman Republic, like the free Greek states, was a thing of the past. In going back to the leaders of the Republic for his exemplary biographies, Plutarch was bringing to life a heroic past, in which the actors seemed bigger than life. At the same time, this past lived on, transformed, in the institutional structure of the principate.

As he pursued his biographical project, Plutarch came to realize more and more the degree to which the Romans of the Republic gave importance to the magistracies of the *cursus honorum* as an indication of a statesman's reputation—in their terms, his *auctoritas* and *dignitas*. Therefore, he determined to employ these standard Roman career elements in a way quite foreign to the Greek lives.

Plutarch's *Lives* are unusual for details about minor magistracies, as Smith documented long ago for *Flaminius*, *Aemilius*, and *Cato Maior*.³³ Lists of offices such as those on display in the Forum Augusti in his own day, or recorded in Nepos' Roman biographies, may have suggested to him the idea of using a statesman's *cursus* as he did.³⁴ But a simple list of offices would not have furnished the kind of information which Plutarch includes, nor would Nepos' short and schematic biographies of Romans, as exemplified by his *Cato*. Livy, and presumably other annalists, regularly listed the election and provinces of consuls and praetors, as well as the annual curule and plebeian aediles, but only occasionally named quaestors and plebeian tribunes. Since the historians narrated military campaigns and political events conducted by consuls and proconsuls, a biographer could relate these historical notices to a statesman's *cursus*. The *cursus* itself, however, Plutarch must have found in the work of earlier family historians, antiquarians, or biographers. In addition there were the kind of contemporary sources he delighted to use when available, such as

33 Smith (1940a and b).

34 Geiger (1995) 177–82 suggests that Plutarch was guided by Nepos' selections in his own choice of lives, not only of Marcellus, Lucullus and Gaius Gracchus, but also Scipio Aemilianus, Cato Censor, Cicero, and Antony.

Scipio Nasica Corculum's memo on the battle of Pydna and Cicero's *Second Philippic* for Antony (*Aem.* 15.5, 16.3, 18.5, and 21.7; *Ant.* 6.1).³⁵

The lives which fall among the first ten that Plutarch composed tend to focus on the major offices of consul and dictator, and omit others. Only *Cicero* is complete, for the reasons we have noted. The later lives offer more frequent mention of the minor ranks of the *cursus*. They also reflect a new historical reality, as the regular second-century pattern of the *cursus* was radically challenged and finally collapsed completely at the end of the Republic. The differing distortions of the traditional structure both distinguish and unify the protagonists' political struggles. The lives of the last generations of the Republic are interconnected, all part of the same tapestry, although each statesman becomes in turn protagonist in one life and foil in others.³⁶

Plutarch's treatment of the *cursus* in the civil war *Lives* also points toward the coming principate. Marius' continuous consulships, Sulla's dictatorship, and Pompey's extended proconsular authority, *imperium maius*, and sole consulship point toward the consolidation of power in one man, first by Caesar, then, more successfully, by Augustus. Inevitably, this meant a diminishment of the offices of the *cursus*. Examining the collapse of the old political structure, Plutarch and his readers could consider the roots of the changes introduced by Augustus and what further modifications the conflicts of their own time might require. The traditional Republican *cursus*, with its regular rotation of office, had failed to contain political ambitions or meet the crises of empire. In Plutarch's time the crisis of AD 69 and the troubles of Domitian's reign had revealed to all that the monarchy established by Augustus could be equally vulnerable, if means were not found to achieve a balance between monarchical order and elite ambition.

The attention Plutarch gives the *cursus* imparts an unmistakable Roman quality to these lives despite their pervasive Hellenic sensibility and Greek language. The lives recognize Roman political and biographical parameters even though they do not fully grasp them. Of course, there are obvious gaps in Plutarch's understanding of Republican politics: the different elements of the *populus Romanus*, never easily to be equated with the Greek *demos*; the role of the *equites*; the importance of an aristocrat's clientelae, both domestic and

35 Pelling (1988) 26–27. Cicero mentions Antony's election as augur at *Phil.* 2.4.

36 On the interrelatedness of these lives, see Steidle (1990); Pelling (2005); Harrison (1995); Beneker (2005); Stadter (2010).

foreign; and the transformation of the army after Marius, to name a few. Yet Plutarch is clear on the realities of political competition and on the similar dangers of Greek and Roman *philotimia*. If his representation of politics based on the division between elite and populace is too schematic, his hope for an intelligent, self-restrained aristocracy that would govern a city or an empire with fairness and foresight remains an inspiring vision. It is no doubt precisely the contrast of the ideal of virtuous statesmanship and political realities, evident in the gradual collapse of the traditional *cursus*, that gives his *Parallel Lives* their continuing vitality.

The current interest in the flourishing of Greek rhetoric in the second century AD, led by orators such as Dio of Prusa, Herodes Atticus, and Aelius Aristides, tends to maximize the role of words and self-presentation among Greeks under Roman rule. The importance which Plutarch attaches to the Roman *cursus* in his biographies, however, points in a different direction. He appears to respond to a desire, at least in some Greek circles, for a fuller historical understanding of distinctive features of Roman politics. His knowledge of Roman practices and familiarity with Roman history is immensely superior to what we find in sophistic writings. Moreover, Plutarch's focus on biography and his research in antiquarian and biographical literature also allowed him to present material not found in the extant Augustan and imperial Greek historians, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Appian, and Cassius Dio. Plutarch's biographical project asserts the importance of understanding Roman culture for dealing with the contemporary empire and insists on the hard facts, not easily transferred into Greek, of the senatorial career.

For both Greek and Roman readers, Plutarch's attention to the Roman *cursus* would have asserted the difference of the two cultures while simultaneously insisting on their comparability, on the many features which united them as well as their distinctive, proudly affirmed, qualities. Moreover, readers would recognize that the system of offices and careers currently in use was vastly different from that pursued by the great figures of Roman Republican history. Neither equestrian administrators nor powerful imperial freedmen had had a place in the republic.

Returning to the two careers mentioned in the beginning, we can recognize that Cicero's traditional career reflected his effort to integrate himself into the senatorial aristocracy, support the *optimates*, and construct a *consensus ordinum*. Pompey's extraordinary progress to the consulate demonstrated the system's inability to restrain political ambition. Plutarch's recording of the *cursus* of his heroes served as a means to understand these men and the culture in which they lived and competed for honors.

Appendix: *The Roman cursus in Plutarch*³⁷

Publicola	Cos. I (<i>Publ.</i> 7.7, 509), II (16.3, 508), III (17.1, 507), IV (21.1, 504)
Camillus	Censor (<i>Cam.</i> 2.3, 403), tr. mil. c. p. II (2.9, 398), dict. (5.1, 396), tr. mil. c. p. (III, 9.1, 394), dict. (II, 25.5, 390), dict. III (33.2, cf. 34.1, 389), tr. mil. c. p. (V, 36.5, 384), tr. mil. c. p. VI (37.1, cf. 38.5, 381), dict. IV (39.2, 368), dict. V (40.2, 367) Omissions: the first and fourth tr. mil. c. p. (401, 386)
Coriolanus	no offices listed
Fabius Maximus	Cos. (<i>Fab.</i> 2.1, 233), dict. (3.7, 217). Five times consul (<i>Fab.</i> 2.1). Plutarch notes for the period after Cannae many offices held by Fabius and Marcellus, including pr., procos., cos., but gives no specifics (<i>Fab.</i> 19.1, 19.6). Omissions: the offices prior to 217 except for the first consulship (tr. mil. I, II, Q, aed. cur., censor, 230, cos. II, 228, dict. I, 221?, and the priesthoods (augur and pontifex).
Marcellus	aed. cur. (<i>Marc.</i> 2.3, ca. 226), cos. (6.1, 222), cos. II (12.1, 215), procos. (12.2, 215), cos. III (13.1, 214), cos. IV (23.1, 210), procos. (25.2, 209), cos. V (27.7, 208, cf. 1.1 and <i>Comp.</i> 3: five times consul). augur (2.3, ca. 226–208, see 210 list). Omissions: the two praetorships (cf. 9.1. ca. 224, 216). ³⁸
Titus Flamininus	tr. mil. (<i>Flam.</i> 1.4, 208), cos. (2.2, 198), censor (18.1, 189). Plutarch has him as <i>eparchos</i> (usually equal to praefectus) in Tarentum, 1.5, 205–4; Livy 29.13.6 says ‘pro praetore’. Omission: quaestor (cf. Livy 32.7.8–12: he was chosen consul ‘ex quaestura’). Error: Plutarch wrongly suggests that Flamininus, a patrician, could have been tr. pleb. (2.1).
Cato Censor	tr. mil. (<i>Cat. Mai.</i> 3.3, 214), Q. (3.3, 204), pr. (6.1, 198), cos. (10.1 and 3.4; <i>Comp.</i> 2.1, 3, 195), tr. mil. II (12.1, <i>Comp.</i> 2.3, 191), cens. (16.8 and 3.4, <i>Comp.</i> 2.1, 184). Omission: aed. pleb. (Livy 32.7.13, Nepos <i>Cato</i> 1.3, 199)
Aemilius Paullus	aed. cur. (<i>Aem.</i> 3.1, 193), pr. proconsul (4.2, 191–89), cos. (6.1, 182), cos. II (10.5, 168), censor (38.9, 164), augur (3.2).

37 References in the associated Comparisons are included, but none from other lives (e.g. references to Pompey’s offices in *Caesar*). I give in italics the years assigned the notice in *MRR*, but these should not be understood as indicating Plutarch’s chronology.

38 Cf. Livy 22.35.6–7.

- Omissions: q. (*Insc. It.* 13.3, no. 81), pr. (it is implied at 4.2. 191).
- Tib. Gracchus q. (*Ti. Gracch.* 5.1, 137), tr. pleb. (8.6, *Comp.* 5.1, 133). augur (4.1).
- C. Gracchus q. (*G. Gracch.* 1.4, 126), tr. pleb. (3.4, 123), tr. pleb. II (8.2, 122).
- Marius tr. pleb. (*Mar.* 4.1, 119), pr. (5.3 and 6.1, 115), procos. (?) Hisp. ult. (6.2, 114), cos. (9.1, 107), cos. II (11.1 and 12.1, 104), cos. III (14.9, 103), cos. IV (14.4, 102), cos. V (22.4, 101), cos. VI (28.8, 100), cos. VII (45.3, 86).
Omissions: q. (121?), augur. His later proconsulships (e.g., in the Social War, 33.3 and the *stratêgia* against Mithridates, 35.5) are left vague.
- Sulla q. (*Sull.* 3.1, 107), leg. lieut. (4.1, 104), tr. mil. (4.1, 103), pr. urb. (5.4, 93), cos. (6.18, *Comp.* 1.7, 88), dict. (33.1, *Comp.* 1.7, 82–79).
Omissions: cos. II (80), augur. His proconsulships in 92 (cf. 5.6) and 87–81 are left vague.
- Sertorius tr. mil. (*Sert.* 3.5, 97–93), q. (4.1, 90). procos. Hisp. Cit. (6.6, 83).
Omission: pr. (?)
- Lucullus aed. (cur., *Luc.* 1.9, 79), cos. (5.1, 74), procos. Ciliciae (5.6, 73–68).
Omissions: q. (actions as quaestor, 87, and proquaestor, 86–80, are reported in cc. 2–4), pr. 78, augur.
- Pompey propr. as *privatus cum imperio* (*Pomp.* 6.5, 83; 11.1, Africa, 80–79; 16.3, against Lepidus, 77; 17.4, against Sertorius, 77), cos. (22.1, 70), procos. against pirates (26.1, 67–), procos. against Mithridates (30.5, 66–61), procos. over grain supply (49.6, 57–52), cos. II (52.3, 55), cos. III (54.8, as sole consul, 52), procos. with *imperium maius* (61.1, *stratêgon autokratora*, 48).
Omissions: various other special assignments, augur (cf. *MRR* 2: 192, 603).
- Cicero q. (*Cic.* 6.1 and *Comp.* 3.3, 75), aed. (pleb., 8.2 and *Comp.* 3.7, 69), pr. (9.1, 66), cos. (10.1 and 12.1, 63), procos. Ciliciae (36.1 and *Comp.* 3.3, 3.7, 51–50). augur (36.1).
Omissions: vague on service with Pompeians.
- Crassus pr. or procos. (*stratêgos*, *Crass.* 10.1), cos. (12.1–2, *Comp.* 2.2, 70), censor (13.1, *Comp.* 2.4, 65), cos. II (15.7, 55), procos. Syriae (15.7, 54–53).
Omissions: Possible early office (none attested). Possibly pontifex: *MRR* 2.186.
- Caesar tr. mil. (*Caes.* 5.1, 71), q. (5.6, 69–68), curator viae Appiae (5.9), aed. (cur., 5.9, 65), pr. (8.7 and 9.1, 62), procos. Hisp. (ult., 11.1, 61–60), cos. (14.2, 59), procos. Galliae cis. and transalp., Illyriae for five years (14.10, 58–49), procos. extended for five years (21.6), dict. (37.2, 49), cos. (II, 37.2, 48), dict. II (51.1, 48–47), cos. (III, 51.1, 46), cos. IV (56.1, 44), dict. perpetuus (57.1, 44). Pontifex maximus (7.4).

- Omissions: dict. III, 46–45, IV, 45–44 (*MRR* 2: 305, 3: 107), cos. V, 44, pontifex, augur. Plutarch does not connect Caesar's visit to Nicomedia (1.7) with his first service under Minucius Thermus in Asia (*MRR* 2: 78).
- Cato Minor tr. mil. (9.1, 67–66), q. (16.3, 64?), tr. pleb. (21.3, 62), pr. (44.1, 54), propraet. (?) Siciliae (53.2, 49–48), propr. (57.6, 47–46). xvvir sacr. fac. (*Cat. Min.* 4.1).
- Brutus leg. lieutenant (πρεσβευτής) in Cilicia (*Brut.* 4.3, 49), governor of Cisalpine Gaul (leg. lieutenant? pro praet.? cf. *MRR* 2:301) (6.10, 46), pr. urb. (7.1, 4, 44), propraet. Cretae (19.5, 44), procos. (Macedoniae, Achaeae, Illyrici, cf. *MRR* 2:346) 27.2, 43).
Omissions: q. (Cilicia, 53), Pontifex.
- Antony praef. eq. (*Ant.* 3.1, 57–55), tr. pleb. (5.2, 49), tr. pleb. pro praet. (6.4, 49), mag. eq. (8.4, 48), cos. (11.3, 44), IIIVir (21.1 with 19.1–4, 43–33). augur (5.3).
Omissions: q. (in Gaul, 52), procos. Galliae Cisalp. and Transalp. (44–43), procos. Galliae Transalp. (43–40), cos. II (34), flamen divi Iulii (44), lupercus Iulii (44).

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The *Lex Julia de Senatu Habendo*: A View from the 1930s

Jonathan Scott Perry

Among the salient virtues of Richard Talbert's *The Senate of Imperial Rome* (1984) are its surmounting of the "obstacles" posed by insufficient evidence and its charging into the seemingly "hopeless venture" of flagging "senatorial procedure and functions during the Principate," despite "the evident reluctance" of previous scholars to make the attempt.¹ The book amply justifies Talbert's contention that the imperial senate "may yet prove an instructive subject for study" since, admittedly "restrained by powerful external forces," it nonetheless "resembled a wide range of other assemblies in both the ancient and modern worlds . . .".² Measuring the output of a senate that was fully operational, functioning on diminished but not completely drained power, Talbert necessarily focused considerable attention on the intricate wiring that had been installed by the first Princeps. In his "Conclusion: The Changing Role of the Senate," he observed that, "For the senate Augustus' reign may be represented as a period of painful, and in many ways unwelcome change, forming part of a wider constitutional transition."³ Although the result of a protracted process of change, this would not, by any means, remain the only constitutional adjustment of its type in Rome's long and complex history. A similarly comprehensive, if more literally painful, transition would unfold in Italy many centuries later, with a potent mixture of "*olio di ricino e manganello* (castor oil and cudgel)" accelerating its progress.

In June 1924 Giacomo Matteotti, an outspoken critic of the Fascist regime in the Italian Parliament, was abducted and murdered, prompting a constitutional crisis that exposed the incomplete nature of the revolution Mussolini had launched with his "March on Rome" in October 1922. When Matteotti's decomposing and mutilated corpse was discovered two months after his disappearance, suspicion fell on the *squadristi* who had facilitated Mussolini's appointment as Prime Minister and continued to keep a vigilant eye on his

1 Talbert (1984b) 4.

2 Talbert (1984b) 4.

3 Talbert (1984b) 488.

interests.⁴ Protesting the brutal murder of one of their own by Mussolini's supporters, opposition Socialist members absented themselves from parliamentary sessions throughout the fall of 1924, in a move provocatively dubbed the "Aventine Secession." Mussolini, presumably fearing for the stability of his government in the face of popular outrage, seemed to withdraw into a brown study of his own, only to emerge on 3 January 1925 with a ringing, if surprising, admission of guilt. Introducing the country to a new style of authoritarian control, Mussolini declared that, "If Fascism has been an association of delinquents, then I am the head of this association of delinquents!" Moreover, "If all the acts of violence have been the result of an established historical, political, and moral climate, well then, the responsibility for this is mine, since it is I who have created this historical, political, and moral climate with a propaganda campaign that has lasted from the launch of the regime until today."⁵

Building on the theme of responsible behavior, he asked what "dignity" had been shown by those who had refused to attend sessions of Parliament? Subtly relabeling the "*spedizione* [secession] *dell'Aventino*" a "*sedizione* [sedition] *dell'Aventino*," Mussolini insisted that the boycott was blatantly treasonous and that, "When two elements are in conflict and are irreconcilable, the solution is force."⁶ Although he professed himself a lover of peace and tranquility by nature, the Duce threatened that he would resort to "force, if necessary" in order to restore the dignity and stability of his government. Despite being one of the most perilous moments in the course of Mussolini's entire regime, the Aventine Secession was brought to a swift conclusion when the King declined to intervene, Socialist members were deprived of their seats, and the Fascists tightened their grip over multiple governmental institutions throughout 1925 and 1926.

Although separated by nineteen centuries, Augustus and Mussolini were both experimenting with "transitional" forms of governance, and each faced the "problem" of absenteeism in the traditionally and at least notionally sovereign bodies of their time. This paper will explore Augustus' efforts to curb senatorial absenteeism, particularly as codified in a *Lex Julia de senatu habendo* passed in 9 BC. Although "our knowledge of this vital statute is very patchy,"⁷ in Talbert's phrase, the analysis contained in both *The Senate of Imperial Rome*

4 The most thorough and up-to-date analysis of "*Il delitto Matteotti*," incorporating newly released documents and material preserved by the Matteotti family, is Canali (1997).

5 The text of this speech—with record of the audience's reactions—is contained in the published version of Mussolini's "complete works," Mussolini (1956) 21, 235–240; the quotations here and below are extracted from pages 239 and 240 in this volume.

6 Mussolini (1956) 239–490.

7 Talbert (1984a) 57.

and his 1984 article on “Augustus and the Senate” in *Greece & Rome* remain the definitive statements on the formulation of the law and its application. After presenting the main arguments introduced by these two studies, I will demonstrate how effectively and how radically Talbert departed from the portrait of the Augustan senate offered in Syme’s *The Roman Revolution* (1939). This will be followed by a sketch of the international consensus of opinion regarding the interactions of Augustus with his senate in the years immediately preceding 1939, revealing how radical a departure Syme, in his turn, had made from this opinion and suggesting explanations for this shift. The paper will conclude with a re-examination of the sources for the law and a re-consideration of the motives that may have lain behind the Augustan “restoration” of senatorial dignity.

As might be expected, the main elements of the *Greece & Rome* article were folded into the comprehensive monograph that appeared in the same year, but Augustus’ relationship with the senate, the result of decades of experimentation and the baseline for future emperors, was clearly deserving of a separate treatment. Talbert began the article with the observation that, while Tiberius’ interactions with the senate had drawn considerable scholarly interest, little attention had been paid to the “foundation painstakingly laid by Augustus” and specifically to “the nature and growth of Augustus’ relationship with the senate.”⁸ The article examines the various means by which Augustus attempted to shape the composition and behavior of the senate, but it suggests that, while these measures may have appeared invasive and authoritarian, Augustus was actually making a series of “experiments” motivated by an “antiquarian” “sense of order” and “respect”—even though the methods employed were occasionally “tactless” and “clumsy.” Beginning with Octavian’s review of the senatorial rolls in 29 and his subsequent re-revision in 18, Talbert underscores the inability of Augustus to effect sweeping change as well as the surprising strength of resistance to his forging a new senatorial class. Recalcitrant senators likely displayed mere “acquiescence rather than full-hearted support,” and the further measures of 18, 11, and 9 BC are here considered bellwethers of the “generally low” level of morale among senators by this period of Augustus’ reign.⁹

Against a backdrop of dwindling interest and investment in the regime, the article provides a sensible caution against what may seem undue interference by the Princeps into the mechanisms of senatorial assembly and procedure. By this light, the formal abolition of the quorum requirement (of 400 members) in 11 BC could be read as merely an acknowledgement that the quorum had, already for a long time, been ignored in practice. As Mommsen had effectively

8 Talbert (1984a) 55.

9 Talbert (1984a) 57.

demonstrated, even the Republican senate stipulated quorums only for some types of deliberation and not for others.¹⁰ Furthermore, the revisiting of the issue of absenteeism two years after the attempt in 11 demonstrates Augustus' understandable frustration with the problem rather than a domineering attitude to government. Even though "[f]ines for absenteeism were stiffened up . . . these seem to have proved as unsuccessful as ever in goading laggards: it would look as if Augustus quietly let them be forgotten, and no later emperor was tactless enough to revive them."¹¹ In a brilliant stroke and building on Cassius Dio's explication of the law, Talbert connected the establishment of set days for senatorial meetings in this *Lex Julia* with the senators' own marked tendency toward non-participation. By stipulating the days on which members could expect a meeting, Augustus hoped to forestall lazy members' pleading "another engagement as an excuse for absence then."¹² In addition, and also as a result of the law of 9 BC, the names of senators who attended were to be displayed publicly on a board, clearly as a means of shaming those who had chosen not to attend. This particular measure seemed to have succeeded in its aim, as Dio noted that it was customary practice many centuries later, even into his own days in the senate.

A permissible retirement age was also implemented, even though there is evidence from subsequent reigns that several especially old men habitually attended senatorial sessions. On the other hand, an attempt to micromanage senatorial deliberations and operating procedures utterly failed. Accordingly, throughout the article, Talbert highlights the essentially *experimental* nature of Augustus' legislation concerning the senate. Given a grab-bag of disparate measures, some succeeded, some failed miserably, and others were broached and then quietly dropped when deemed overreaching or impossible to enforce. Interestingly, following this line of reasoning, Augustus often attempted to claim credit for simply codifying or affirming a practice that had *already* become customary. One significant conclusion of the article is that Augustus was ultimately less innovative than Tiberius, who finally discovered "a fulfilling role for the corporate body," whereas Augustus had merely enhanced "the dignity of the senate."¹³

Another conclusion is even more significant, especially regarding the interpretation of Augustus' Principate and his overall ambitions in governance. Having reviewed the details of Augustus' measures directed at the senate,

10 The details of these circumstances are succinctly described in Bonnefond-Coudry (1989) 410–11.

11 Talbert (1984a) 58.

12 Talbert (1984a) 58.

13 Talbert (1984a) 62.

Talbert observed that “it is plain enough that one of Augustus’ problems in the senate was not halting eloquence, but rather desperately trying to coax any words at all out of some members!”¹⁴ This characterization of Augustus, as a well-intentioned if occasionally misguided reformer, is incorporated into the main text of *The Senate of Imperial Rome* at several points. Augustus’ attempt to fine members for non-attendance is here described as a revival, “as so often,” of “a lapsed ancient practice” rather than as “a complete novelty.” Sadly, Augustus’ attempt to reintroduce fines “is perhaps best dismissed as a clumsy, antiquarian revival which predictably failed.”¹⁵ While the comprehensive law *de senatu habendo* was itself “an innovation,” since senatorial deliberations had generally been governed by custom instead of statute, Talbert suggests “that the law for the most part served to codify existing practice rather than to introduce sweeping changes.”¹⁶ In short, Augustus’ efforts were designed “to restore dignity to the senate” by forging them into a new governing class. In response, the senators’ fears that they would be rendered insignificant kept them from asserting the power that Augustus genuinely wished them to preserve in the midst of this “painful . . . constitutional transition.”¹⁷

Talbert’s soundings of Augustus’ intentions for the senate were echoed, also in 1984, in P.A. Brunt’s article “The Role of the Senate in the Augustan Regime.” In Brunt’s estimation, it is at least “a plausible conjecture” that Augustus actually *did* encourage wide-ranging discussions and sincerely “hoped to ascertain the true sentiments of senators” in his deliberations with them. Continually referring “measures to the senate for its approval in accordance with Republican practice,” both Augustus and Tiberius may well have desired to discern “what the majority really wished, and to adjust their policy” accordingly—at least so far as they could without imperiling their own sense of dignity.¹⁸ Similarly, in a monograph on the Republican senate (1989) and in an article on the Julio-Claudian senate (1995), Marianne Bonnefond-Coudry endorsed, and even seemed to strengthen, Talbert’s view of Augustan deference to traditional senatorial prerogatives. In her estimation, it was “the constant care of Augustus to favor the free exercise of senatorial initiative,” and “he chose to preserve the traditional system of decision-making” wherever possible.¹⁹ Realizing his potential to sway the direction and thereby negate the salutary effect of

14 Talbert (1984a) 59.

15 Talbert (1984b) 138–39.

16 Talbert (1984b) 222.

17 Talbert (1984b) 488.

18 Brunt (1984) 443–44.

19 Bonnefond-Coudry (1989) 792.

senatorial debate, the Princeps made strenuous efforts “to guarantee the senators’ freedom of expression” and to avoid alienating the body.²⁰ Moreover, she argued, the fact that the senate rapidly lost its standing should not lead one “to attribute systematically to Augustus a project of underhanded diminution of its role [*un projet de restriction sournoise de son rôle*].”²¹ Instead, the characteristically “ambiguous” nature of Augustus’ relationship with the senators left his successors in a difficult position, and Tiberius, Claudius, and Nero each pursued a policy that they thought suited themselves and their personal interests.²²

While it has been widely, though not universally (see below), endorsed in scholarship since the 1980s, Talbert’s position on Augustus’ relationship to the senate constituted a significant departure from previous studies. Both Brunt and Bonnefond-Coudry, in the initial footnote of their articles, explicitly cite Anglophone scholarship from the 1930s. For Brunt, Syme’s dismissal of the senate as a rubber stamp for decisions that had already been made by the government “does not bring out the truth that it was performing a role essential to Augustus’ design.”²³ It is a remarkable fact that, despite its famously thorough charting of the rise of Augustus’ “faction” and his associates in government, *The Roman Revolution* does not deal extensively with the senate as a corporate body. Throughout the book, Syme insisted that, rather than focusing on idealistic “maxims of political wisdom,” it is “more instructive to discover, in any time and under any system of government, the identity of the agents and ministers of power.”²⁴ However he disguised the essential elements of his rule, Syme’s Augustus was in reality “the leader of a party” and as such was determined to sweep his cronies into powerful positions at his side. The crafty and behind-the-scenes process by which he fashioned this new ruling class is developed in chapters xxiv: “The Party of Augustus,” xxv: “The Working of Patronage,” xxvi: “The Government,” and xxvii: “The Cabinet.” In his chapter headings, Syme deliberately employed language drawn from modern history and contemporary parliamentary politics—and this was even more the case in earlier drafts of the text.²⁵ Like a modern prime minister—or, even more appositely,

20 Bonnefond-Coudry (1989) 741.

21 Bonnefond-Coudry (1989) 259.

22 Bonnefond-Coudry (1995) 232.

23 Brunt (1984) 423, with n. 1.

24 Syme (1939) 325.

25 A nearly-complete handwritten manuscript of *The Roman Revolution*, including stray pages on which Syme worked out even earlier versions of some of the book’s most famous passages, is preserved at the Bodleian Library (Oxford). An inspection of this text reveals, for two examples, that the original title of chapter xiv: “The Proscriptions” was “The Terror” and that chapter xx: “*Tota Italia*” was previously styled “The Last Coup

a duplicitous “military and monarchic demagogue”²⁶—Augustus assembled a governing body by ennobling “good opulent men” from obscure Italian families and melding them with traditional elites into a new “party” and even a “New State, perpetuating the Revolution.”²⁷

Heading a new party forged from the combination of “the most ancient patrician houses and the most recent of careerists,” Augustus bound it “to a cause and a programme as well as to a person” and converted it into “a body of civil servants.”²⁸ Having “purged” and “purified” the senate of its Caesarian accretions and dross,²⁹ the Princeps turned it into a mere echo chamber for fatuous debate, consolidating real power into a sort of star chamber meeting behind closed doors. In a rhetorical tour-de-force unveiling “the real and ultimate power” of the Principate, Syme observed:

If Augustus wished his rule to retain the semblance of constitutional liberty, with free elections and free debate in the Senate, it is evident that there would have to be expert preparation and firm control behind the scenes of all public transactions. The era of cabinet government has set in. The Senate was no longer a sovran body, but an organ that advertised or confirmed the decisions of the government . . .³⁰

This “cabinet” was the senatorial “*consilium*” that was known to have met throughout Augustus’ reign but was authorized to bypass the senate itself only in AD 13.³¹ Greatly reduced in power and influence, the full senate “held empty debate or none at all, and prominent dignitaries waited muttering on his threshold [while] the Dictator quietly worked out his plans in the company of his intimates.”³² By Syme’s reasoning, therefore, it was in Augustus’ interest “to palliate any inconveniences that might arise” from his consulting “a small council of senators” rather than the full corporate body.³³

d’État.” (The arrangement of the chapters and their numbering also underwent extensive changes between these drafts and the printed edition.)

26 Syme (1939) 337.

27 Syme (1939) 359–60.

28 Syme (1939) 368 and 387.

29 Syme (1939) 370.

30 Syme (1939) 406–407.

31 Talbert (1984b) 286 describes the mechanisms and “advance” discussions of this *consilium* but notes that this rump parliament “was abandoned altogether by Tiberius only a year or so later.”

32 Syme (1939) 407.

33 Syme (1939) 408.

Of course, this conclusion seems fundamentally at odds with Augustus' measures to *enhance* attendance at full senatorial sessions and his apparent determination to ignore the excuses of "inconvenience" posed by their meetings. Unless Augustus was merely taking authorial pleasure in the crafting of an elaborate ruse, cackling like Shakespeare's Richard III before his seduction of the widowed Anne Neville, there seems to be little place in this analysis for measures like the law *de senatu habendo*. In fact, neither this law nor the specific aspects of Augustus' interactions with the senate appear in *The Roman Revolution*. At the time of the book's composition, however, there were other, very recent, studies that had analyzed the workings of the Augustan senate at length, and Syme references a few of these, albeit in a footnote.³⁴ The first of these is Mason Hammond's 1933 study of *The Augustan Principate*, followed by H. Stuart Jones' summary of the senate's responsibilities in the tenth volume of the *Cambridge Ancient History* (appearing in 1934) and Hans Volkmann's *Zur Rechtsprechung im Principat des Augustus* (1935).

Behind these works stands Mommsen's theory of a "dyarchy" composed of the emperor and the senate, as famously developed in his *Römisches Staatsrecht*. The dyarchic principle had been amplified, with specific reference to the senate, in a remarkable Strassburg dissertation by Theodor Anton Abele, published in 1907 as *Der Senat unter Augustus*. The bulk of this dissertation is contained in its first chapter, a chronological analysis of the "*Senatsverhandlungen*" over the course of Augustus' reign, and the various elements of the *Lex Julia* of 9 BC are arranged under subheadings on pages 49 and 50.³⁵ In a brief analytical chapter, Abele confirmed Mommsen's point of view on Augustus' cooperation with the senate, although he disagreed with Mommsen that Augustus aimed at the ultimate "restoration" of the Republic.³⁶ Abele drew particular attention to the "*Mitarbeit*" between senate and princeps, observing that, even in the midst of his purges of the senatorial rolls, Augustus did not take advantage of the opportunity to eliminate potential enemies. The continued inclusion of the jurist M. Antistius Labeo was, in Abele's estimation, only the best known instance of Augustus' willingness to maintain critical voices in his senatorial *lectiones*.³⁷

The investigation of Augustus' regime published by the Harvard professor Mason Hammond in 1933 was an even more influential work by the time Syme composed *The Roman Revolution*, and it was certainly the most consequential of the many English-language monographs and specialized studies of

34 Syme (1939) 406 n.6.

35 Abele (1907) Erster Teil, 49f.

36 Abele (1907) 78.

37 Abele (1907) 67.

Augustus to appear in that decade. Over the course of a singular career and life, Hammond became a fixture of Harvard's Classics and History departments, as well as the representative of a meticulous approach to institutional and constitutional matters in Roman history.³⁸ Bonnefond-Coudry compared Talbert's "pragmatic approach" to the Augustan senate to two chapters in Hammond's *The Augustan Principate in Theory and Practice during the Julio-Claudian Period*.³⁹ Here, Hammond laid stress on "the genuineness of the restoration" launched by Augustus, and he developed the position that the princeps had "used his control of admission impartially for what he considered to be the best interests of the Senate and not to create a subservient body which would merely approve his acts automatically."⁴⁰ In his estimation, Augustus launched a "purification of the Senate from Caesarian interlopers" out of a "misguided . . . respect for the old nobility." It was not his fault, in fact, that the "Restored Republic" had failed; rather, fault lay squarely on the shoulders of the senators themselves.⁴¹

Accordingly, Hammond's Augustus, like Talbert's, directed his efforts "towards stimulating [the senate] to undertake its public duty," and he behaved with politeness and patience toward the senators even when, as Suetonius stressed (*Aug.* 54), he was being heckled by them in the course of debate. In spite of his presence in their chamber, "under Augustus there seems to have been great freedom" among the membership, and the senate was led by his example "rather than coerced."⁴² Interestingly, Hammond, like Syme, did not address the specific details of the law *de senatu habendo*, though he would presumably have evaluated its provisions in very different terms. However, the troubling detail remains: *why* would Augustus have made strenuous, if only partially successful, efforts to "coerce" participation, or at least to curb the tendency to absenteeism among the senators?

38 A set of Hammond's personal papers, preserved in the Harvard archives, reveals his attention to the institutional life of Harvard itself, touching on official functions, commencement exercises, and, most amusingly, the degree to which Latin should be used in the college's diplomas. (In a letter dated 2 June 1954, he commented, "The intellectual exercise of coping with these citations is, indeed, rather fun—or would be, if it did not come on top of all the other crowded requirements of the end of term and if one had the slightest feeling that the gems which one has labored so hard to polish would be read or understood by anybody, more particularly the recipients.").

39 Bonnefond-Coudry (1995) 225, n. 1. The chapters to which Bonnefond-Coudry was comparing Talbert's work were Hammond (1933) 117–30.

40 Hammond (1933) 117–18.

41 Hammond (1933) 117 and 120.

42 Hammond (1933) 123, 126, and 127.

The dedicatee of Hammond's book and the first of his "Acknowledgements" may help clarify Hammond's overall approach to the evidence of Augustan interactions with the senators—and also provide an explanation for Syme's very different assessment of this evidence. The author of *The Augustan Principate* expressed "with deep gratitude his indebtedness to Mr. Hugh Macilwain Last of St. John's College, Oxford, under whose inspiration and guidance this discussion was originally composed as a thesis for the degree of Bachelor of Letters in the University of Oxford . . .," and this was, of course, the same Last—promoted to the Camden Professorship in Ancient History in 1936—whose "eyebrows" were supposed to be "raised" in Syme's renowned Preface to *The Roman Revolution*.⁴³ In my forthcoming monograph, I am developing the case that Last stood at the center of an international network of scholars who were curious about Augustus in the late 1930s. His assistance is acknowledged in virtually every book published by an English-speaking scholar (or amateur) on the subject, and his collection of offprints, painstakingly gathered into nearly 100 bound volumes and housed today in the Sackler Library, attests the extent of his contacts, particularly in Italy, but also in France, Germany, and North America.

Because of the fortuitous bimillenary of Augustus' birth in 1937—and the Fascist regime's capitalization on that coincidence through a series of commemorations, lectures, museum exhibits, and specialized volumes—these connections became particularly significant in the late 1930s. Among the beneficiaries of Last's assistance in this period was the recently-installed Governor-General of Canada, John Buchan. In October 1937, shortly after the Augustan year had been inaugurated in Rome, the newly created Lord Tweedsmuir published a substantial 350-page biography entitled *Augustus*.⁴⁴ Best known today for his Richard Hannay stories and novels like *The Thirty-Nine Steps* (1914) and *Greenmantle* (1916),⁴⁵ Buchan was a prominent man of letters in the early twentieth century, who moved in influential political circles and was noted for incorporating his public service into his literary output. Drawing on his experiences in the Ministry of Information during the Great War, Buchan virtually created the spy-thriller genre (self-described "shockers"), adding a dose of realism to these seemingly preposterous tales of adventure and intrigue. However, his war work also enhanced his substantial non-fiction and historical

43 Hammond (1933) n.p.; Syme (1939) ix.

44 Buchan (1937).

45 As a marker of Buchan's prescience, a BBC radio broadcast of *Greenmantle*, which centers upon wartime espionage in the Middle East, was postponed in the wake of the terrorist bombings in London in July 2005.

writing, which included a multi-volume and, for the period, definitive history of the War in 1921–22, as well as a series of biographies of great men of the past. Among these were a biography of Julius Caesar which appeared in 1932 and the highly appreciative evaluation of Augustus' career composed in the midst of Buchan's official duties in Canada.⁴⁶

Dedicated to "my friend William Lyon Mackenzie King," the sitting Prime Minister of Canada and with acknowledgement of Last's "generous assistance," *Augustus* details the career of—as Buchan repeatedly characterized him in private correspondence—"the only dictator who ever kept his head."⁴⁷ Buchan's portrait of a cool, calm, and collected leader was based on the general tenor of opinion on Augustus that was available to the gifted amateur of his era. However, Buchan described Augustus' situation and his ambitions in even more stark terms: "His intention was to restore all of the Republic that would work; the Republic meant nothing without the Senate, and the Senate would lose caste without the aristocracy."⁴⁸ There is an ominous undertone, given the context of the late 1930s, to Buchan's further descriptions of the interactions between senate and emperor: "To such a body [Augustus] would assign every duty which it could efficiently perform, but of such efficiency he would be the judge The Senate should reign like a modern constitutional monarch, and it should be permitted to govern up to the full limit of its capacity."⁴⁹ This final sentence is an interesting reversal of what one might normally expect; notice that the *senate*, and not the emperor, is described as the "constitutional monarch" in this simile.⁵⁰ Real power was vested in *Augustus*, and he, and only he, would determine what powers could safely be entrusted to the senators—and which ones he would have to retain in the interest of greater "efficiencies."

46 Despite a late start in Latin and Greek, Buchan was fortunate to study in Glasgow under Gilbert Murray, who became a lifelong friend and continued to correspond with Buchan concerning his Canadian appointment and the high quality of his *Augustus*.

47 A collection of Buchan's papers and his private library (he died at Montréal in 1940) is available in the archives of Queen's University in Ontario. Among his correspondence are copies of several letters, such as one addressed to British Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin and dated 24 March 1936, in which he observes that Augustus was a "great man, the only dictator who ever kept his head, [who] anticipated so many things in the modern world."

48 Buchan (1937) 143.

49 Buchan (1937) 143.

50 Strangely enough, Buchan, as the King's representative in the Dominion of Canada, was himself an agent of a "constitutional monarch" at the time of writing. He had been appointed by George V in 1935, had weathered the abdication crisis of 1936, and in 1939 would take a leading role in organizing the highly successful tour of George VI and Queen Elizabeth to North America.

Buchan's focus on the intentions of and concessions by the princeps underscores a significant fact that ties together *all* of the studies of the Augustan senate mentioned thus far: each was concerned with the attitude of Augustus toward the senate, rather than with the policies, goals, and ambitions of the senators *themselves*. The nearly universal tendency in the existing scholarship is to account for Augustus' motives in shaping the senate rather than to examine the senators' motives—which may have been purposeful and coordinated—in avoiding attendance at senatorial meetings, particularly in the 10s BC. Talbert attributes some of the “generally low morale” of the senate to demographic factors, the newly stringent financial requirements for senatorial status, and the exhaustion brought on by the recent wars.⁵¹ Nevertheless, it may be possible, with reference to both the original sources of the law of 9 BC and modern parallels, to attribute this decade's phenomenon of absenteeism to a deliberate policy on the senators' part.

In short, we may wish to examine afresh whether there actually was a “crisis of absenteeism” that necessitated Augustus' legislative attentions. Claude Nicolet had identified “*une crise de recrutement*” that prompted Octavian's efforts “to purify the assembly,” shortly after Actium and then at future points throughout the reign.⁵² Nevertheless, the term “crisis”—one thinks of Christian Meier's “*Krise ohne Alternative*” for another example—evokes further thoughts and attitudes. *For whom* and in what respects would either a surplus or a dearth of senators have constituted a “crisis”? The absenteeism of senators (and at what point could such absenteeism be described as “excessive,” if the general notion of quorum had already fallen into abeyance?) would only have posed a problem if Augustus actually *desired* senators to attend sessions. It is also important to bear in mind the specific circumstances that immediately preceded the measures of 11 and 9 BC. After a more or less constant presence for some time, Augustus was absent from Rome for much of the period 16–13. Perhaps it would have been natural for senators to stay at home, already cowed by the advancing institutionalization of the Principate and unwilling to be put on record during Augustus' absence for anything they might say in session.

However, it is also possible that the senators were engaging in a deliberate and concerted effort to boycott the program launched by the princeps and his associates, simply by remaining at home. While Talbert's vision of the “antiquarian” and restorative efforts of Augustus has remained the dominant one since the 1980s, there was another line of thought, reflected particularly in the various works of André Chastagnol. This scholar's 1992 monograph

51 Talbert (1984a) 57.

52 Nicolet (1976) 30.

Le Sénat romain à l'époque impériale was fashioned from several short pieces published over previous decades, but it begins with a subtle and thoughtful reflection that draws on contemporary French history. Describing the transitional moment between the Fourth and Fifth Republics in 1958 (in the course of which De Gaulle was installed in power), Chastagnol commented, "These recent events aid us in a certain measure in understanding how the passage from one political regime to the other was effected in Rome, in the last third of the first century BC."⁵³ This "*évolution*" did not "annihilate" the powers that the senate possessed; rather "*elle en a seulement changé la nature*" of its role in government. As such, Chastagnol paid particular attention, in the chapters that followed, to the "transitional" aspects of this regime change, one in which the senators themselves played a crucial part and not always in a cooperative manner with the "military and monarchic demagogue" (in Syme's phrase) who loomed over their era.

As early as a 1980 Festschrift article, Chastagnol had developed the idea that, after Actium, Augustus' objective was "to diminish—and no longer to augment—the effective power" of the senate and to promote "*une politique de fermeture*," originally in regard to the senatorial rolls.⁵⁴ In this study of "the crisis of senatorial recruitment," specifically in the period 16–11 BC, Chastagnol stressed the "draconian" measures of Augustus in culling excess senators from the rolls and the fact that the existing senators had "suffered brutally" from his policies in this regard.⁵⁵ In the remainder of the article, he makes tentative steps toward what would become a central argument: "the discontent [*le mécontentement*] of which the crisis of recruitment of the years 16–11 is, in short, the reflection."⁵⁶ In the period of Augustus' absence from Rome, "various movements of protest and of bad temper" were produced and left unchecked. Chastagnol's final observation here is that the "crisis" of this period reveals that "the establishment of the Principate regime was not realized without shocks [*heurts*]" and that the senatorial aristocracy "reacted to it with a certain vigor."⁵⁷

Commenting on "the problem of the senatorial quorum" in the Republic and the Empire ten years later, Chastagnol again turned to the phenomenon of "senatorial discontent" as a means of understanding why the quorum of 400

53 Chastagnol (1992) Introduction.

54 Chastagnol (1980) 465. This sentence was imported, virtually unchanged, into the opening paragraph of the 1992 book's second chapter, entitled "*La diminution de l'effectif sous le règne d'Auguste*."

55 Chastagnol (1980) 466–67.

56 Chastagnol (1980) 468.

57 Chastagnol (1980) 471, 475.

members was so difficult to maintain. In Chastagnol's estimation, Augustus was forced in 11 BC to admit that the traditional quorum was unattainable, but only after he realized that "he had overestimated the conscientiousness and punctuality of the senators." These senators "manifested their discontent, among other well-known moves in this same period, by their absenteeism [*qui manifestaient leur mécontentement . . . par l'absentéisme*]." ⁵⁸ Accordingly, it was in reaction to this "manifestation of discontent" and non-participation that Augustus "vigorously [and] in a strict manner" moved on all sorts of matters in the law of 9 BC. ⁵⁹ However, as the focus of this article was on senatorial quorum as understood in the late second century (and on Cassius Dio's view of it, as a senator himself), Augustus' specific goals—and those of his "discontents"—were not explored at more length here.

Nevertheless, in the 1992 monograph, Chastagnol made a bold—and perhaps even a startling—suggestion concerning the absenteeism phenomenon of the 10s BC. In reaction to the waves of downsizing by means of which their numbers and their powers had been diminished, "they manifested their bitterness by certain acts of refusal, of strikes sometimes hidden and sometimes open [*Ils manifestèrent leur amertume par des actes de refus, de grève tantôt perlée tantôt ouverte*]," and "in pouting with a certain ostentation [*en boudant avec une certaine ostentation*]." ⁶⁰ If one evaluates the voluntary "absenting of oneself" as a form of strike, it is perhaps feasible to gauge the extent of opposition, at least at this "transitional" moment in the new regime. By focusing attention on the full body of the *senatus*, rather than merely on their putative *princeps*, Chastagnol demonstrated that absenteeism could in itself be a tactic of resistance, one that demanded a swift and radically interventionist response from Augustus.

Armed with a new, or at least a rediscovered, thought concerning the possible motives that lay behind absenteeism, we may be in a position to re-evaluate our primary sources that touch on the "law" concerning senatorial meetings. In chapters 35–37 of his *Life of Augustus*, Suetonius detailed a number of the princeps' measures in respect to the full senate, the *consilium*, and the several degrees of office-holders in his restored Republic. It is significant to note, however, that on an occasion in which he was supervising a culling of the senators' ranks, Suetonius (*Aug.* 35.1) claims that Augustus was wearing a cuirass under his tunic and a sword at his side, while also sitting in a chair flanked by "ten very strong friends among the senatorial order." These precautions would

⁵⁸ Chastagnol (1990) 158.

⁵⁹ Chastagnol (1990) 159–60.

⁶⁰ Chastagnol (1992) 56.

seem at odds with the final statement of chapter 35, which suggests that Augustus would call on members at random during debates, “so that everyone was on the alert to offer an opinion and would not merely agree to what had already been said [*ut perinde quisque animum intenderet ac si censendum magis quam adsendendum esset*].” Suetonius seems to have concluded that Augustus was actively seeking out a full range of opinions on each matter, and not merely the opinions of the most senior members (and those who were old enough to remember a time before he had taken power?). In a recent commentary, Nathalie Louis observes that, at least in Suetonius’ opinion, “Augustus’ reform was not intended to reduce the role of the senate” but rather “to render it more effective (absenteeism in effect constituted a serious handicap) and to guarantee its freedom of expression.”⁶¹

Nevertheless, one might suggest another interpretation for his customary practice. Because individual senators could not know upon whom Augustus would call, as a standard speaking order would have shaped the agenda, perhaps it was deemed safer to *attend* than to remain at home? The issue of “safety” was also raised by Dio, specifically in respect to his own attendance at a perilous senate meeting in 193. When summoned to attend a meeting of the senate called by Didius Julianus, Dio reported that he feared for the result, knowing that he had received honors from Pertinax and had proven Julianus guilty in previous court cases. Nevertheless, he observes (74.12.2–3), “we came, partly for these reasons, since it did not seem we would be safe [*ἀσφαλές*] remaining at home, for fear that such a course in itself might arouse suspicion.” Talbert mentions this story in the context of his discussion of senatorial absenteeism,⁶² but the full import of this anecdote—and what it reveals about Dio’s own attitude toward the nexus of “discontent” and non-attendance—may be explored further. In fact, one might suggest that Dio was fully aware of the power of the tactic of non-compliance with a summons and that he, at least, hoped that his absence would have been noticed by others and deemed a political statement.

In the passage that deals in detail with Augustus’ senatorial measures and which constitutes the bulk of our “patchy” information for the *Lex Julia de senatu habendo*, Dio stresses that Augustus’ innovation of posting the names of attendees was *still* followed in his own day (55.3.3). He goes on to praise Augustus’ desire to appear “democratic [*δημοκρατικός*],” as illustrated by two representative incidents in the course of senatorial debate. On one of these occasions, Augustus acknowledged the “frankness [*παρρησία*]” of a senator who had dared to stand up to him—in contrast with “the baseness of the majority.” But then Dio swiftly undercuts this *glasnost* by commenting that

61 Louis (2010) 298.

62 Talbert (1984b) 136.

Augustus “punished others who were reported to be conspiring against him” (55.4.2–4). While this section has been interpreted as a favorable commentary on Augustus’ frank and open dialogue with the senators, perhaps, given Dio’s own recent experience with the phenomenon of senatorial non-attendance, it is an oblique reference to the dangers, to *senators*, in seeming to shirk responsibility? Returning again to *Richard III*, it may have been deemed, even in Dio’s season, too risky to express a “winter of our discontent” with the current regime.

Thrasea Paetus, as characterized by Tacitus (for instance, *Ann.* 16.22; 27), may be only the most famous example of a senator whose deliberate absence from the senate was viewed as an expression, albeit a muted one, of opposition to the emperor’s government. In this respect, the parallel case of the “s[p]edizione dell’Aventino” may be an instructive one. Mussolini rightly interpreted the Socialists’ boycott of parliamentary sessions as an expression of their outrage over Matteotti’s gangland-style murder. If one views the Roman senators’ absenteeism as a resistance tactic, akin to a silent strike, Augustus’ outrage is understandable. If he perceived their ignoring of his summons to attend as seditious discontent, the ham-fisted and “clumsy” measures he took to rectify the situation can be explained. By fining and shaming non-attendees, Augustus, always on the look-out for potential rivals, hoped to obtain a full house upon whom he could train a vigilant eye.

Another very recent parallel case may also help illustrate the point. In February 2011, 14 Democratic members of the Wisconsin state senate refused to attend meetings and withdrew into a self-imposed, temporary exile in a neighboring state. Their purpose was to deprive the state senate, and Republican Governor Scott Walker, of the quorum necessary to pass sweeping fiscal and anti-collective-bargaining measures. Although senate Republicans outmaneuvered the absentees’ tactic and passed much of the Governor’s budget in other forms, there was considerable praise for the fourteen senators when they returned after a three-week “retreat”. As Senator Dave Hansen commented upon his return, “So people think this is a picnic for us—they’re wrong. We did it for the right reasons. We stood up for our working men and women in the state.”⁶³ Perhaps there was a similar repast in the distant past?⁶⁴

63 As quoted in *The Washington Post* on 12 March 2011 in an article entitled, “Wisconsin 14’ group of Democratic senators returns, greeted by thousands at Capitol.”

64 I am grateful, for careful and helpful readings, to the editors and to Prof. Jerzy Linderski. None is responsible for the errors and infelicities that are sure to remain in this text. I am also grateful to Prof. Talbert, for always permitting dissenting voices, both in session and outside it.

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Tacitus on Trial(s)

Leanne Bablitz

This article considers how Tacitus presents legal trials within his *magnum opus*. This is by no means an exhaustive study; rather, it is the result of a first tentative dip of my toe into the murky, but exhilarating, waters that are the *Annals*.¹ The goal here is twofold, to present some of the types of information Tacitus provides concerning legal hearings which will be achieved through a brief mathematical analysis and to draw attention to a few of the ways in which Tacitus manipulates this information to achieve his own narrative goals. Such inquiry shows the difficulties in extracting valuable, detailed, information regarding specific trials from the *Annals*. The resulting uncertainties, in turn, lessen our ability to determine how trials were utilized as a weapon by both the emperor and other individuals in the political arena of early imperial Rome. In addition, careful and close examination of Tacitus' techniques in his trial-narratives identifies still more of his narratological methods and again proves the continuing need for careful skepticism on the part of historians when considering Tacitus' account.

Counting Trials in the *Annals*

Tacitus identifies 220 individuals who apparently were indicted. This number may seem high to those who are familiar with the *Annals*. An effort to gather all relevant material and not become mired in such issues as whether an individual committed suicide before the trial started encouraged that my initial swath be cut wide rather than narrow.² As such, in addition to any individuals whom Tacitus clearly identifies as having been indicted, the numbers also include those whom Tacitus merely says were “driven into exile” or “granted islands in the Aegean Sea.” Such vagueness on Tacitus' part naturally leads to the question

1 Benario (2005); Woodman (2009); Ash (2012); Pagán (2012). Trials in Tacitus: Shotter (1966), (1969), (1972a and b) and Marshall (1990).

2 For simplicity, I will refer to trials only by their starting place within *The Annals*.

of whether there was a trial at all in many of these situations.³ To enable discussion, however, the vocabulary of a trial will be used in all situations regardless of the specific form that trial took, be it a hearing in the senate, the bedroom of the emperor, or even if uncertainty exists whether a trial proper occurred at all. Thus I will speak of accusers, defendants, trials, and sentences; however, the appropriateness of this vocabulary varies on a case-by-case basis.

When the number of trials is tabulated by book the following results emerge (Table 1):

Book	Number
1	3
2	7
3	13
4	28
5	2
6	53
11	16
12	12
13	20
14	14
15	27
16	25

When examining this table, as with all the numbers presented here, we must remember that there are two gaps in the surviving text of the *Annals*. The loss of almost all of Book 5 (except a few chapters) leaves a gap after the early months of 29 until the late months of 31.⁴ In addition, nothing survives of Books 7 through 10 and the narrative resumes approximately halfway through Book 11. As a result the second chronological gap reaches from mid/late March of 37 through until mid-47. Thus, the numbers for Book 5 and 11 in the table are greatly affected. If the accused individuals are counted according to the year in which Tacitus mentions them, the following results are acquired (Table 2):

³ E.g., 11.35, 36, 16.17. Such questions cannot be answered here.

⁴ All dates AD.

Year	Number ⁵	Year	Number	Year	Number	Year	Number	Year	Number
15	3	26	2	37	9	48	14	59	2
16	2	27	2	38	—	49	3	60	1
17	3	28	1	39	—	50	0	61	8
18	0	29	0	40	—	51	2	62	4
19	2	30	—	41	—	52	2	63	0
20	4	31	2	42	—	53	2	64	1
21	7	32	22	43	—	54	1	65	35
22	2	33	6	44	—	55	8	66	15
23	4	34	5	45	—	56	3		
24	11	35	4	46	—	57	4		
25	7	36	3	47	4	58	4		

It is difficult to draw many helpful historical conclusions from these rudimentary calculations, but some aspects are noteworthy. The spread in both tables is larger than perhaps expected. In the first table the fifty-three individuals mentioned in Book 6 far surpass the number found in any other book. No other complete book is as exceptional as Book 6. Table 2 reveals only five years in which the number of accused individuals reaches the double digits (24, 32, 48, 65 and 66). The high numbers in three of these years can each be linked with an exceptional event. In 32 the 'house cleaning' undertaken following the downfall of Sejanus results in a high number. Likewise in 48 Silius took eleven other men down with him. Finally, the year 65 saw the failed conspiracy of Piso and at least twenty-five people were caught up in the ensuing hunt for supporters.

While these numbers provide evidence of the frequency of trials in Tacitus' work, we must examine the details of his accounts of individual trials to understand how he both employs and exploits them within his larger narrative. As is typically Tacitean, there is little that is standard in how Tacitus presents trials within the *Annals*. His presentation of Claudia Pulchra's trial reflects his most typical narrative style of the small-, to medium-sized accounts:

5 The number of cases will not total 220 because Tacitus (4.21, 6.7, 6.10, 13.32) identifies some trials as occurring before a certain year without stating the exact year.

At Romae commota principis domo, ut series futuri in Agrippinam exitii inciperet Claudia Pulchra sobrina eius postulatur accusante Domitio Afro. Is recens praetura, modicus dignationis et quoquo facinore properus clarescere, crimen impudicitiae, adulterum Furnium, veneficia in principem et devotiones obiectabat. . . Pulchra et Furnius damnantur.

But at Rome the house of the princeps was shaken. The steps that would lead to Agrippina's destruction began with the arraignment of her cousin Claudia Pulchra, her accuser being Domitius Afer. Afer had recently held the praetorship, was undistinguished in reputation, and in a hurry to gain celebrity by any deed. His charges against Pulchra were immorality, with Furnius her adulterer, and acts against the emperor involving poison and curses. . . Pulchra and Furnius were condemned, (4.52).⁶

If the passage is stripped still further to consist of only the portions strictly relevant to the case itself we are left with: . . . *Claudia Pulchra sobrina eius postulatur accusante Domitio Afro . . . crimen impudicitiae, adulterum Furnium, veneficia in principem et devotiones obiectabat. . . Pulchra et Furnius damnantur* (. . . her cousin Claudia Pulchra was charged, her accuser being Domitius Afer. . . His charges against Pulchra were immorality, with Furnius her adulterer, and acts against the emperor involving poison and curses. . . Pulchra and Furnius were condemned). Removal of the 'superfluous' narrative in this example exposes the information that Tacitus provides typically for trials; the named of the accused (in this case, Claudia Pulchra), the name of the accuser, the charges, and the outcome. The reduction in length of the account by about fifty-percent with the removal of information that is relevant to Tacitus' narrative but not the case itself, is also fairly typical. Clearly, then, the trials receiving the most attention from modern scholars, those of Calpurnius Piso (3.10), Thrasea Paetus (16.21) and Barea Soranus (16.23), are not typical.⁷ In fact, they are the most atypical both in the number of lines Tacitus devotes to them and the high degree of detail he provides (Table 3):

6 All translations are those of Barrett and Yardley (2008) with slight adaptations.

7 The discovery of the *SCPP* resulted in a flurry of scholarship, see Damon and Takács (1999) and Mackay (2003). On Thrasea Paetus see Stådele (1990); Galtier (2002); Pigon (2003).

Trials presented in less than one line of text: ⁸	59
1–4:	94
5–9:	41
10–14:	9
15–19:	6
20–24:	4
25–29:	2
30–34:	5
35–39:	1
40–44:	1
55–59:	1
80–84:	1
Average length of trial account: 8.1 lines	

In order to gain an accurate indication of how much space Tacitus gives to individual trials I determined a trial's length by isolating the information that pertained to the trial itself. Included as relevant were the names of the accused, accusers, and all information about the events of the trial such as what happened within the courtroom. The result is that the line counts narrowly define the narrative as presented by Tacitus. My reasoning was that on numerous occasions Tacitus folds other information, peripheral to the trial itself, within his account of that trial. I attempted, therefore, to separate that material from the trial itself. Considering Claudia Pulchra's trial (4.52) quoted above, for example, I calculated this case as consisting of less than 10 lines even though, if one begins to count at the first mention of Claudia Pulchra and stops only after Tacitus' statements regarding the impact of the trial on Afer's subsequent career a line count of twenty-three is reached. I did not include Agrippina's discussion with Tiberius that Tacitus inserts within his account of Claudia's trial. Also, because they would heavily skew the results, I did not include within the line counts of trials any direct speeches. While they give the impression of being transcript-like recordings of actual words spoken at the trial, it is too good to be true. This affected the line count for seven cases.⁹

8 Fisher's (1906) Oxford Classical Text edition was used for the purposes of counting lines.

9 3.10; 3.66; 4.34; 13.19; 15.20; 16.21; 16.23.

The trials of Piso, Thrasea Paetus, and Soranus account for three of the four cases to which Tacitus devotes more than forty-five lines.¹⁰ As Table 3 shows, the vast majority of the trials receive less than ten lines of text. Such brevity does not require that various details of the trial itself be missing, but naturally the two elements are connected.

The piece of information Tacitus most consistently provides is the name of the accused. But, we cannot presume he always does so.¹¹ Tacitus identifies by name thirty-two women and 188 men as defendants within the *Annals*. The annalistic structure results in Tacitus providing dates for all but a few trials he mentions.¹² He also is quite consistent at recording the end of the case. For 193 of the accused we learn the outcome. ‘Outcome’ is used purposefully. Suicide was an option taken by twenty-seven individuals.¹³ In only twelve trials do we not have enough information to at least guess at the outcome.¹⁴ In another fifteen trials Tacitus leaves us somewhat uncertain as to which way the outcome went. At the other end of the spectrum, sixteen trials end in the unequivocally stated acquittal of the individual. Tacitus is quite fastidious at naming the charges, or at least some sort of charges, whether they are the true ones or not is another question. In about three-quarters of the trials Tacitus sets out clearly stated charges.

Tacitus seems anxious to identify the men and women who found themselves on trial, list the charges that brought them into court, and record the outcome of the trial. Unfortunately, beyond these basic facts, for the vast majority of the cases, Tacitus offers little other information. This does not surprise. With an average account length of 8.1 lines, there is little space left after the above information is provided. In only two cases Tacitus provides the names of men who provided defense counsel (3.10, 22). One cannot assume, however, that all the others represented themselves, since Tacitus specific mentions in three cases that the defendants represented themselves (4.28, 6.8, 36). In only two

10 40–44 lines: Thrasea Paetus; 55–59 lines: Gaius Silanus and Barea Soranus; 80–84 lines: Calpurnius Piso.

11 Tacitus also refers to five groups of people who most likely were charged individually but he says nothing more; the accusers of Terentius (6.09); all those imprisoned on charges of complicity with Sejanus (6.19); the accusers of Marcellus (13.33); the slaves of Pedanius Secundus (14.42); the manacled prisoners connected with Piso (15.58).

12 Tacitus refers to six trials that took place earlier than the narrative point at which he mentions them: 4.21, 6.7 (three cases), 6.10, 13.32. See Ginsburg (1977) and Rich (2009).

13 A few rushed to the act before their trial even began, while many waited until the signs suggested acquittal was unlikely.

14 Unknown verdict: 2.42, 4.42, 5.8, 6.7 (two individuals), 6.9 (three individuals), 6.40, 14.60, 15.20, 15.58 (manacled prisoners).

cases Tacitus specifically names witnesses who testified before the court, while in three other cases he mentions “witnesses” were heard but says nothing more.¹⁵ Tacitus is more forthcoming with the names of accusers. In sixty-seven cases he mentions either individuals or provinces as having laid the charges. Considering the total number of trials even this number still seems low.

If we hope to find information regarding the events that took place during the trial itself we find that in 180 of the trials Tacitus provides nothing at all. In fifteen trials Tacitus makes brief mention. For example, Tacitus describes the events of Vibullus Agrippa’s trial who . . . *cum perorassent accusatores in ipsa curia depromptum sinu venenum hausit prolapsusque ac moribundus festinatis lictorum manibus in carcerem raptus est* . . . (“when his accusers had concluded their case, in the Curia itself, drew poison from a fold in his clothing and drained it. Collapsing, he was, in his death throes, rushed off to prison by the swift hands of the lictors . . .” 6.40). It is only in thirty of the trials that Tacitus provides any extended description of the trial itself. In these longer accounts alone then do we typically hear of anything that was said during the trial or receive any sort of description regarding the physical movements of anyone present.¹⁶ The uniqueness of these accounts strongly urges their careful consideration.

What we are to make of Tacitus’ failure to provide even the basic facts for all the trials and additional details for so few others, is difficult to determine. Did he neglect to include details because he did not have them? While verbatim transcripts were not made for any trials held within Rome, be they in the senate, the emperor’s court, or the *quaestiones perpetuae*, *acta senatus* certainly contained some information regarding trials held before the senate; how much detail is less certain. Scholars attribute Tacitus’ detailed account of Calpurnius Piso’s trial in the senate to *acta senatus*.¹⁷ If *acta* themselves contained details enough to offer such a full account, then Tacitus’ bare-bones reporting on so many other trials known to have been heard in the same court suggests a very aggressive filtering of information on his part. However, it may also be possible that Tacitus’ typical account of a trial which consists of little more than the name of the accused, the nature of the charges, and the judgment, mirrors the information provided by *acta* and his extensive

15 Named: 4.42, 16.23; unnamed: 3.15, 6.47, 13.42. I did not include tortured slaves.

16 E.g., 4.28, 70, 6.40, 49, 16.30, 32.

17 Eck, Caballos and Fernández (1996) 145–55; Flower (1997) 709. Talbert (1984) 326–34 argued that Tacitus made extensive use of *acta* in the *Annals*; however, he does not believe (1999) that the *SCPP* provides any additional proof of such use.

account of Piso's trial proves his use of supplementary sources available to him for particularly famous trials.¹⁸

Two points support an argument for aggressive reduction of information on Tacitus' part. First is his limited inclusion of the names of accusers in his account. Surely *acta senatus* included the names of those accusing an individual before that body. It is far too important an element of a trial to consider it not worthy of recording, particularly since a charge of *calumnia*, wrongful accusation, could always follow. In addition, scholars have convincingly argued for a high level of detail within *acta senatus* as well as Tacitus' frequent use of them.

Another argument can also be made for Tacitus not having more information than he provides. The location of trials and legal procedure must be considered. Tacitus does not place a trial within the senate nearly as often as one might think. In only thirty-eight cases Tacitus clearly identifies the senate as the judging body by referring either to the trial as taking place in the Curia, for example, or that the senate was summoned, or some phrase of that nature.¹⁹ In an additional seventy-nine cases we are on relatively solid ground in assuming that the trial was heard by the senate based on the nature of the crime (e.g., *repetundae*), the form of the punishment (e.g., exile), or some statement suggesting that court (e.g., Tiberius writes letters to the consuls). Another nineteen cases appear to be before the emperor's court though in only seven of these cases can we be certain.²⁰ Tacitus also reports one case before a *pater familias* and one before a praetor.²¹ We are left, therefore, with over seventy cases that we cannot locate with reasonable certainty.²² If these trials were

18 On *acta senatus* see Syme (1958b) 278–85, (1982); Talbert (1984) 308–34; Giua (2003).

19 E.g., 2.28, 29, 42, 4.19, 6.18. On the senate as a court see Talbert (1984) 460–87.

20 Certain: 6.10 (two defendants), 11.1, 13.23 (three defendants, Barrett and Yardley (2008) 477), 14.50. The other twelve are complicated by additional issues that cannot be dealt with here such as whether the emperor was questioning the defendant as an interested member of the senate or because he was the sole judge in a few of the cases (e.g., 15.67, 68), or whether there was a trial at all since Tacitus refers to the affair as a 'murder' (e.g., 15.60, 15.70). The opening of 15.69, in which Tacitus says that Nero could not find a way of taking up the "*speciem iudicis*", "guise of judge", may prove that the preceding trial of Sulpicius Asper in 15.68 was before the emperor's court.

21 Family *consilium*: 13.32; praetor: 2.34.

22 The issue is not even so simple as choosing between the senate and the emperor as the trial location. Other courts continued to function, to the extent that the senate may not have been the obvious default location for trials of important matters and important people as early as Tacitus would have us believe. Antistius Vetus (3.38) was tried for adultery before the standing *quaestio*. His supposed links to Rhescuporis suggest that he was

not in the senate, then possibly Tacitus had far less information at his disposal, since no source of information as fulsome as *acta senatus* was available for the other courts. Further comparison between trial location and information provided on the trial may advance this line of inquiry further.

Tacitus' Use of Trials

Thus far, I have shown the distribution and concentration of trials in the *Annals* and considered the types of information that Tacitus provides and does not provide for these trials. In the space remaining here I would like to briefly discuss a few of the ways Tacitus uses his accounts of trials as tools to achieve his larger narrative goals. First I examine placement of trials within the narrative. Then, focusing on two passages from Book 6, we will look at a few examples of how Tacitus manipulates the reader's interpretation of trials.²³ He achieves this in multiple ways; by inserting authorial statements within specific passages; by providing misleading information about specific trials; and by intertwining trials with other events to heighten the sense of unjustified death.

There is nothing random about where a trial appears within the pages of the *Annals*. This placement affects the emotional response of the reader not only to the trials themselves, but also to the broader themes of the work overall.²⁴ If inserted at the right point in the text, a trial narrative of a single line or two could make a large and important impact. While Tacitus was limited somewhat by the annalistic tradition in which he was writing, he could still

moving in circles that warranted a trial before the senate even on that charge if it was the now common location. Calpurnius Piso assumed that any possible trial for his involvement in Germanicus' death would be before the appropriate *quaestio* (2.79) and Tiberius felt the need to explain why it was not so (3.12). There is a further problem with the senate's functioning as a court. Tiberius referred the matter of Plautius Silvanus' (4.22) murder of his wife to the senate. However, Tacitus tells us that his grandmother sent him a dagger (to commit suicide) "*dati . . . iudicibus*" "after the judges were selected" (see Garnsey [1970] 26n.2; Talbert [1984] 465n.36). Our current bafflement at this statement suggests all is not known about the functioning of the senate as a court. See Kelly (1966) 89–97; Garnsey (1970) 16–100; Jones (1972) 91–118; Millar (1977) 507–37; Talbert (1984) 460–87; Bablitz (2007) 114–15.

23 I selected passages from Book 6 for ease of discussion. Additional evidence of the same sort is also found throughout the *Annals*, but exhaustive study here is not possible.

24 See Ginsburg (1981).

manipulate the content within any given year.²⁵ He also had the choice to include or exclude a trial completely from his account. And it appears that he did exclude at least some. Cassius Dio provides another annalistic account that covers the same period as the *Annals*. A quick count of trials mentioned in Dio's account between the years 14 and 68 (excluding the years which fall within the gaps in Tacitus' text) finds forty-two trials. Twenty-five of these are found in the accounts of both authors, while seventeen appear solely in Dio's account. Tacitus also determined how much space to give a trial, which controlled the attention given to the trial by the reader. The chart below combines the Books of the *Annals* with the length and number of each trial account. So in Book 6, sixteen trials are mentioned in less than one line of text, thirty trials are given less than five lines of text, and so on.

The results of Table 4 are surprising for several reasons. As the reader advances through the *Annals*, the number of trials seems to be ever-increasing and the years become more and more trying and oppressive. Additionally, the accounts of individual trials seem to get shorter in the later books, with increasing cursory statements by Tacitus that someone was executed after having been given barely a chance to make a defense. The overall numbers do not, however, support these readings. There are 106 trials in Books 1–6 and there are 114 trials in Books 11–16.²⁶ It is true that Book 6 undertakes much of the work in the first hexad, but it is not extreme. Regarding the length of trial accounts, there is a high number of exceedingly brief accounts in Book 15 but this is evenly matched within Book 6, and Book 6 exceeds all other books by far in the number of accounts under five lines long.

Numbers alone cannot explain the sense that the quantity of trials seems to increase in the later books. We must look for an artistic explanation.²⁷ From the reader's perspective, the book that feels the most heavily laden with trials is Book 4, in which there seems to be a constant flow of trials. Tacitus himself draws attention to this feeling in the midst of the book (§32–33) when he states that he is presenting “never-ending accusations” and “a monotonous abundance of recurrent material”. However, examination of the numbers in Table 4 shows that Book 4 neither contains the highest number of

25 Tacitus was comfortable with shifting events around within a consular year and abandoning the annalistic framework completely for narrative purposes (6.38, 12.40); Talbert (1999).

26 I have not included the trials of unknown numbers of defendants in this count (e.g., the “accusers of Marcellus” in 13.33).

27 Scholarship on the artistry of Tacitus is plentiful. Syme's work (1958b) is classic. See more recently O'Gorman (1999).

TABLE 4

	1	2	3	4	5	6	11	12	13	14	15	16
< 1 l.				6		16	11	1	7		16	2
< 5		3	6	12		30		7	8	11	5	9
< 10		2	3	7	2	6	4	3	1	2	4	6
< 15	2	1		2					2		1	1
< 20	1		1			1		1		1	1	
< 25			1				1		1			1
< 30												2
< 35		1							1	1		2
< 40				1								
< 45												1
< 50												
< 55												
< 60			1									1
< 65												
< 70												
< 75												
< 80												
< 85			1									
Totals:	3	7	13	28	2	53	16	12	20	14	27	25

incidents in the entire text (it is second, far behind Book 6) nor does it include an unusual number of particularly long (or short) accounts.

The explanation for this sense of a constant barrage of trials is found in Tacitus' arrangement of the trials within individual books. Through examination of the sections in which trials appear and the breaks between them in each of the books that survive in their entirety an interesting pattern emerges. For example, the first trial in Book 3, that of Calpurnius Piso, appears in §10 and merges into the trials of both his wife and son. All are concluded in §18. The next trial, that of Aemilia Lepida begins in §22 which means that there is a break of three sections before it. Tacitus describes her trial in sections 22 and 23. The following trial, that of Annia Rufilla appears in §36 resulting in a break of twelve sections without mention of a trial. Continuing with such calculations of the sections that contain trials and those that do not, Book 3 is found to contain six breaks, of varying size, between sections that include

trials. By extending this procedure to the books that survive in their entirety and contain more than ten trials (the results are meaningless for Book 1 and 2 which contain only three and six trials respectively) we discover an interesting consistency; Books 3, 13, and 14 all contain six breaks total, Books 6 and 12 both contain seven, Book 15 contains eight, while Book 4 stands alone, far exceeding the other books with twelve breaks. It is unreasonable to conclude that Tacitus consciously sought these consistent and matching numbers between books, but it is not going too far to say that Tacitus realized that by spreading out the trials over the sections of a book, as he did in Book 4, more breaks are created. The more breaks there are, the briefer they are, and the result is that a book seems to include more trials when in fact it does not. The reader is, rather effectively, made to think about trials more frequently.

Tacitus also on several occasions increases the sensation in the reader of a barrage of trials and a sense of despair by gathering trials together and presenting them in 'batches'. Even very brief trial narratives, while assembled together in this way, can make a strong emotional impact. Book 6.7–10 provides one of the best examples of Tacitus' method. §7 opens with the punishment of Caesilianus most likely on a charge of *calumnia* for his participation in the trial of Cotta Messalinus discussed in the two previous sections. The penalty given is that he suffers *eandem poenam . . . quam in Aruseium et Sanquinium, accusatores L. Arruntii*, ("the same penalty as Aruseius and Sangunnus, the accusers of Lucius Arruntius" 6.7). Tacitus has, in these four lines told us about two trials (that of Caesilianus and Lucius Arruntius) and three convictions (Caesilianus, Aruseius and Sangunnus). This mention is all the information we have about an earlier trial of Lucius Arruntius. Perhaps Tacitus discussed it in Book 5. Three lines later Tacitus introduces the trial of Quintus Servaeus and Minucius Thermus opening with the adverb, *posthac*. Tacitus reports their condemnation after a brief aside about delation and in the next sentence introduces the next defendants, Julius Africanus and Seius Quadratus. We learn nothing more about their trials, no charges are mentioned, no verdict given. Tacitus interrupts here in his authorial voice to make a brief statement about his difficult task of listing all the "dangers and punishments" (6.7). We will return to discuss this remark below.

Continuing the narrative, §8 opens with the trial of Marcus Terentius. Tacitus includes Terentius' speech to the senate defending his friendship with Sejanus, which concludes the section. He opens §9 with the punishment (exile or execution) of the accusers (who are not named) of Terentius. He then immediately moves, using the adverb *dehinc* to the accusation of Sextus Vistilius. We learn little of the trial proper, more of Vistilius' actions to end his life. This is immediately followed by the treason trials of five men, Annius Pollio, Appius

Silanus, Mamercus Scaurus, Calvisius Sabinus, and Annius Vinicianus. Tacitus uses the interesting adverb *acervatim*, “in heaps”, in the opening. Following brief remarks on each trial, the section concludes, and §10 opens with the statement: *Ne feminae quidem exsortes periculi* (“Not even women were out of danger”). And so Tacitus presents the execution of Vitia for weeping over the execution of her son. Tacitus next states that these then were the proceedings in the senate and he turns to report trials before the emperor’s court, those of Vesularius Flaccus and Julius Marinus. Nothing is said beyond that they were driven to their deaths.

And here, in the middle of §10, the string of trials concludes. A gap of three sections follows, until the trials of three equestrians appear in §14. In Book 6.7–10 Tacitus refers to the trials of at least twenty-one individuals (Terentius had at least two accusers, perhaps even more). Eight of these trials contain less than one line of information specifically about the trial, twelve contain less than 5 lines. Terentius’ trial falls in this category so one must be aware of the extra lines of his direct speech. It is a densely packed four sections. While the theme of delation following the fall of Sejanus drives the accusations against five of these defendants, several of the others seem to stand trial independently of that affair.²⁸ As is typical, Tacitus does not supply clear charges in several of these cases.

The other passages in which Tacitus concentrates a high number of trials show many similarities to Book 6.7–10. In Book 15.71 we find fifteen defendants packed into one section, while in Book 11.35 we find eight defendants. The feeling of the endless trials is less strong in these two passages, most likely because all the trials are thematically related to the fallout from the Piso conspiracy and the Silius affair. In Book 4.18–22, we find the opposite, six defendants charged with a wide range of crimes. Tacitus also provides more information relevant to the trials themselves in these cases; three receive less than five lines, two receive less than ten lines and one receives less than 15 lines. The impact of these longer accounts and the diversity of the charges are palpable.

By grouping multiple trials together and presenting them in one large chunk, Tacitus implies an overwhelming sense of constant legal activity and suffering. His use of linking adverbs such as *dehinc* and *posthac* further strengthens the connections between the trials. Grouping also makes it possible for Tacitus to gain emotional mileage from the trials of otherwise unknown men (Gaius Caesilianus, Minucius Thermus, Marcus Terentius, and Sextus Vistilius) which, had they been scattered individually throughout the narrative, may have fallen flat.

28 See Rutledge (2001) on informers in early imperial Rome.

Tacitus not only indirectly heightens his reader's emotional response to his subject matter by concentrating trials at certain points within the narrative, he also directly appeals to his readers. In Book 6.7, mentioned above, following the discussion of eight defendants, Tacitus stops the narrative to make an authorial statement in which he contrasts the practices of other historians with his own regarding the inclusion of what he calls *pericula et poenas*, "the dangers and punishments", experienced by many people.²⁹ While other historians have omitted several incidents, he says, they deserve to be known and so he has included them even though the number may depress both himself and his readers. This comes at a point in the narrative when the reader is already marveling over a particularly long list of defendants. Tacitus agrees with the thoughts of his reader and makes a moralizing statement that stresses the Roman cultural significance of memory. Having reinforced in the reader's mind the high number of cases being discussed, Tacitus continues with more, leaving the reader in no doubt of just how endless the trials were at the time.

In three other passages (4.32–33, 6.38, 16.16.) Tacitus stops the narrative to remark, in much the same way as he does in Book 6.7, that his account is full of never-ending grim stories of despair and suffering. In Book 4.31 Tacitus reports the penalties imposed on two men, Publius Suillius and Catus Firmius, and immediately following his personal aside, in §34 Tacitus begins the next year with the treason trial of Cremutius Cordus. In Book 6.38 Tacitus begins his aside by admitting that the sections immediately preceding (§§30–37 were a combination of the military activities of two summers) were an effort to relieve the readers' minds from the "domestic tragedies". It is true, since §29 and the opening of §30 contained five trials that ended in the suicide or exile of the defendant, that a break was needed.³⁰ Immediately following his brief aside at the opening §38, however, the trials pick up once again and before the end of the same section we learn of a suicide before charges could even be laid, a suicide following arraignment, and a condemnation to capital punishment. And finally, Tacitus places his authorial aside in 16.16 immediately after the description of the deaths of Publius Anteius and Ostorius Scapula in §15 and

29 On Tacitus' authorial statements, Pelling (2009); Sinclair (1995) esp. 33–78.

30 It should be noted that even though Tacitus talks of 'domestic tragedies', the three convicted in §30 were all former accusers receiving their just rewards. It is difficult to determine Tacitus' feelings on these prosecutions. He envelops them so well with all the other trials within the blanket of 'negative' prosecution that one wonders if he sees all prosecutions as wrong. And yet, he surely wants those who have played a role in informing to pay the penalty. One wonders if the advocate, wanting to make a strong case, had to hold his nose a bit to do so.

moves immediately to the deaths of four men apparently having stood trial, though Tacitus is unclear on this point. Authorial statements are relatively rare in the *Annals*. Since four of these appear in close proximity to accounts of trials, Tacitus clearly saw such points in the narrative as ideal for such a change in the narrative pattern. Determining his reasoning is of course far more difficult.

Tacitus can also be quite devious in his manipulation of the reader's opinion. One method he uses is to set a trial before the reader in such a way that she assumes a conclusion at the outset. However, the outcome on occasion does not match that assumption. Again in the extended passage already discussed we find an example. In Book 6.9 Tacitus identifies five men tried for treason. He mentions the shudder of fear that ran through the senators. He opens the following §10 with the statement that not even women were free from danger, thereby reinforcing the danger these men were in. And yet, we find, in fact, that not one of these men was brought to trial. The charges on two seem to be completely dropped and the charges against the other three were deferred by Tiberius himself until the evidence could be considered. Tacitus constructs a strong opening only to hide the results, unhelpful to his own narrative goals, in the conclusion. These trials, in fact, were something to be celebrated, an occasion when aid was found for some, and Tiberius was reasonable. Tacitus does not take this route. And then we move to §10 opening with Tacitus' report that many women suffered the same fate. Again, a problem. Only one is mentioned, Vitia, mother of Fufius Geminus. If there were many, he uses the plural 'women', and he has just told us above that he will tell us of cases other historians are omitting, should he not be telling us about more than one? And yet, upon an initial reading, the reader falls in line, fearful for all these men and women struggling in a political game that ended badly for so many.

Another method Tacitus uses to increase the sense of frequency of trials and the number of fallen individuals is seen in Book 6.38–39. We find in these two sections an interesting mix of suicides, trials, and deaths. In §38 Tacitus reports that Fulcinius Trio commits suicide fearing that accusers were circling to attack him. Tacitus then briefly at the end of the section remarks that *isdem diebus*, "during those same days," Granius Marcianus committed suicide after being charged with treason by Gaius Gracchus, and Tarius Gratianus was convicted for treason and executed. Tacitus opens §39 as a continuation of §38 stating that the deaths of two other men, Trebellenus Rufus and Sextius Paconianus, were not dissimilar. Tacitus provides a few details. Trebellenus committed suicide and Paconianus "was strangled in prison for verses that he composed there against the emperor". Tacitus wraps up the year with a report of the natural death of Poppaeus Sabinus. Tacitus begins §40 and the new year with the

execution of Lucius Aruseius and moves immediately to Vibullus Agrippa's dramatic suicide by poison in the senate house during his trial.

While Tacitus would have us accept his account of events in §§38 and 39 and mourn all the more in §40 the extremity of trial activity as we move ever closer to Tiberius' final days, some problems arise and questions must be asked. If we are attempting to identify those charged with a crime and tried, we must be careful counting in these two chapters. We hear of six men who met their deaths in these two sections. Only half of these (Granius Marcius, Tarius Gratianus, Sextius Paconianus) were clearly charged.

Of the others, Trebellenus Rufus' situation is the most troubling. It is clear from the discussion thus far that Tacitus leads the reader to assume conclusions that in fact may not be accurate. In the case of Rufus, the reader assumes a charge of treason, but is that certain? Tacitus says that the deaths of Rufus and Paconianus were similar to those of Marcius and Gratianus. What about Trio's death? How far back is the comparison to go? If Paconianus was executed, like Gratianus, then this suggests that Rufus committed suicide, since both Trio and Marcius took this route. But where does the similarity end? Was Rufus charged with treason, like Marcius, or was he fearful of being charged like Trio and so took his life before an actual charge materialized? While this point may seem small, our uncertainty in this situation can be matched by dozens of other cases with similar problems within the *Annals*. What creates a greater sense of wariness is Tacitus' narrative skills. He is perfectly capable of clarity of information, and yet in many situations such as this, he is not forthcoming and close examination leaves one wondering. Couple this with the other evidence discussed above which suggests that Tacitus was intentionally misleading his readers to conclusions concerning trial outcomes rather than just omitting information because his readers already possessed that information, and the result is that we cannot assume that Trebellenus was actually charged with any crime.

Tacitus is certainly using Fulcinus Trio's death for his own narrative purposes. The contents of his will were too good to omit and so Tacitus had to fold Trio's death in under the umbrella of untimely deaths brought about by informers and Tiberius' suspicious nature. This was an about face for Tacitus however. He had already on a number of occasions mentioned Trio in his narrative as a notorious informer. And, again, it must be said that Trio had not been charged with anything yet. So Tacitus presents a previously described hated informer as a victim of informers who have laid no charges.

By the time the reader gets to the final topic of the year, it barely registers that Poppaeus Sabinus' death was natural. Tacitus' intended effect is difficult to uncover. The placement of the announcement is common; Tacitus often

ends the year with such events.³¹ His use of *concessit vita*, “left this life”, leaves room for one to wonder if he was making no attempt to clarify the obvious different method of death from those just discussed and instead hoped that the reader would view his death as the final in a long list of supposedly undeserved deaths. Perhaps this suggestion is an unfair criticism of Tacitus. The natural death, even if registered by the reader, makes a large impact for the very reason that it stands as a sharp contrast to those discussed both immediately before and after it.³²

Conclusion

It is hoped that this close consideration of trial narratives draws further attention to Tacitus’ narrative technique. Since the *Annals* is one of only a few sources for trials known to have taken place in Rome in the Early Principate, modern scholars have formed a somewhat unhealthy, but understandable, dependency on this text for information. In addition, this subject sits at an important intersection, or perhaps a traffic circle is a better motif, of Roman legal procedure and the growing legal jurisdictions of both the senate and the emperor. It is a fascinating period of development and evolution. Unfortunately, Tacitus is not as helpful in elucidating the transition as he could have been, but he cannot be blamed for this. He had his own reasons for writing, providing future scholars with a clear road map of jurisdictional development was not his top priority. As such, we must work with what we have, while at the same time remaining ever aware of Tacitus’ expert techniques.

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31 See Ginsburg (1981) 31–52. On obituaries in Tacitus see Syme (1958a); Gingras (1991); Haynes (2010).

32 13.30 provides another section in which Tacitus presents a mix of accusations, convictions, and suicides. It also includes an acquittal. Note as well that 13.30 is the end chapter of the year 57.

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Curial Communiqué: Memory, Propaganda, and the Roman Senate House

Sarah E. Bond

Italy's Fascist dictator, Benito Mussolini, held a lavish and highly anticipated ceremony within the renovated Curia Julia on May 1, 1939. The calculated service was itself reminiscent of Octavian's dedicatory festival almost two millennia earlier, when in 29 BC, the young and newly victorious leader of the Roman world used the completion of the Curia Julia to advertise his perceived role as restorer of the Republic.¹ Mussolini's communication of his role as a *restitutor* was also transmitted visually, through his vast rebuilding projects. Intent on reviving the classical glory of Rome, Mussolini in fact exposed many of the ancient ruins of the city by destroying medieval, early modern, and Christian edifices; often publicly delivering the first thrust of the pickaxe before a demolition project began.² Within his restoration plan, there appears a special focus on the Roman senate house. Its renovation had required that the architectural layers, which had built upon and transformed the Curia Julia since the structure's rebuilding under Diocletian, be peeled away. As with many of the dictator's projects within the city of Rome, such as the display of the *Ara Pacis*, the restoration both installed an aesthetic association between him and the emperor Augustus and would further articulate the relationship between Mussolini and the Italian senate. As these two leaders demonstrate, the restoration and decoration of the senate house was itself a power move; it conjured legitimacy, could function as a link between the new ruler and the previous administration, and asserted his relationship with the senate. As it will be explored, the notable histories of the Roman senate houses, the Curia Hostilia, the Curia Cornelia, and, in particular, the Curia Julia, speak to the pivotal position of the

¹ Octavian's 'restoration' would not be formally recognized until 27 BC, when the senate granted him the title of 'Augustus' (RG 34; Cf. Ov. *Fast.* 1.589). An alternate view suggests that the senate house was never dedicated in the strict sense of the word, due to the inherent nature of the senate, see Simpson (1998).

² Baxa (2010) 54–75, especially 59, "Mussolini's pickaxe became iconic of fascism's reworking of the Roman landscape, but equally important was the relentless pace of work."

structure as an intercessor in Roman society.³ Furthermore, an examination of the intercessory nature of this temple can facilitate a better understanding of its preservation in the seventh century, when the papacy drew on the renown of the Curia in order to establish a sacred site (S. Adriano) that would continue to function as a liturgical focal point and a victory monument.⁴

While a simple litany of the decorations, modifications, and renovations of Rome's primary senate house is informative, it can overlook the explicit ways in which others—Mussolini, Sulla, Julius Caesar, Theodoric, etc.—manipulated the Curia for their own purposes. This analysis of the Curia's modifications will instead translate the visual messages articulated by various patrons and consider the broader meaning that different restorations of the senate house came to signify. In this article, I look beyond the previous accounts of Rome's early senate houses and the Curia Julia, which have tended to focus on the archaeological components of the structure, in order to expose a more complex role within a broader topography of power.⁵ Likewise, I will illustrate the fact that, unlike other *curiae*, the Curia Julia was potent not only in antiquity, but remained a locus of political and religious authority into the middle ages. Even after the administrative shifts to cities such as Constantinople and Ravenna in Late Antiquity, and long after the purported “fall” of the Roman Empire, the site of the Curia continued to exert a recognized power. It is this power which Pope Honorius perhaps attempted to harness in c. 630 by consecrating the space as the church of S. Adriano (*Liber Pontificalis* [Duchesne] 72.6; 324). Like the rulers that built and rebuilt the Curia during the Empire, the Church further communicated the victory of Christianity in Rome and within the Empire by transforming the space into a site that was vital to the “liturgical life” of the city. As it has been noted, the Curia also stood at a strategic position at the intersection of the Via Argiletum and the Via Sacra in the Forum Romanum.⁶ Despite its Christian re-contextualization, the site continued to be recognized as the Roman senate house and sought out by travellers and locals alike, with its architectural elements taking on an almost relic-like nature up until the time of Mussolini.

I approach this curial biography chronologically from the purported consecration of the Roman senate house in the seventh century BC to the seventh century AD, concentrating on the building itself, the addition or removal of

3 Thompson (1981); Talbert (1984) 187.

4 Kalas (1999) 258.

5 Von Reber (1858); Mommsen (1864); Lanciani (1963); Morselli and Tortorici (1989); Richardson (1992) 103–104; Grant (1970) 118–25; Coarelli (1985).

6 See Kalas (1999) 262.

significant monuments in and around the Curia Julia, and focusing on periods of restoration that have been underexplored, as in the restoration under the “barbarian” Ostrogothic king Theodoric. I argue that in Roman antiquity, these monuments frequently articulated, anchored, and solidified complex relationships between the emperor and the senate. In the case of the Statue of Victory, which had been housed in the Curia Julia for four centuries prior to Gratian’s removal of the altar in 382, this relationship went beyond the tension between paganism and Christianity. Consequently, its removal signified a reconfiguring of the relationship between the emperor and the senatorial aristocracy, rather than a battle between pagan and Christian senators.⁷ The history of the Curia Julia thus provides a prism through which to review struggles within the Empire: imperial attempts at legitimacy, the rapport between the senate and the emperor, and the rise of the papacy. The Curia Julia was itself a historical player worthy of note; one often manipulated to communicate the intentions and crafted memory of others.

The Republican Senate House

On the Northern side of the Comitium in the Roman Forum, aligned with the cardinal directions, stood the original Roman senate house. Myth held that the seventh century king of the city, Tullus Hostilius, erected and consecrated the structure, and thus his name would live on in the Curia Hostilia (Liv. 1.30, 22.55.1; Varro, *Ling.* 5.155).⁸ Although the building likely underwent some degree of modification (for instance, after the sack and pillaging of Rome by the Gauls in 386), the sources do not indicate extensive renovations before the first century BC. In a highly emblematic move, Sulla demolished the old senate house around 80 and enlarged it—though, as the character of Marcus Piso remarks in Cicero’s *De Finibus*, expanding the Curia’s size did not necessarily make others think of it as grander structure, “Even when I saw our senate house—the Curia Hostilia I speak of, not the new one, which seems to me lesser since it has become greater” (Cic. *Fin.* 5.2).⁹ Ostensibly, the project was meant to provide adequate accommodation for the expanded senate; however, the reconstruction was a considerably more aggressive move on Sulla’s part

7 Cameron (2010) 56.

8 *LTUR* 1.331–2, s.v. “Curia Hostilia,” (Coarelli).

9 *Equidem etiam curiam nostram—Hostiliam dico, non hanc novam, quae minor mihi esse videtur, posteaquam est maior.* The treatise, written in 45, is attempting to evoke the period of 79, thereby referencing the Curia Cornelia.

than modern analysis has suggested. At its core, Sulla intended the act to visually communicate his modifications to the Roman constitution, the monopoly on power now held by the senate, and above all, to announce his ultimate triumph.¹⁰ Formerly, a king of Rome had been directly linked with the building, but Sulla's plans sought to install himself as the new patron associated directly with the senate house, and, in turn, the senate itself. The project disrupted previous Republican victory monuments in the vicinity; Sulla relocated statues of Alcibiades and Pythagoras that stood "on the horns of the Comitium" (Plin. *HN*. 34.26, *in cornibus comitii*). Pliny purports that these statues were erected under the direction of the Delphic oracle, so that Rome might be victorious in the Samnite War (Plin. *HN*. 34.26). The new senate house was, in many ways, Sulla's own victory monument, and it appears he would not have his visual message muddled by competing commemorations—much as his competitors had been banished by proscription.

In terms of the new senate house's name, there is reason to believe that this novel structure was called the Curia Cornelia. This circumstance is supported by the senate's later request to Sulla's little known son, Faustus, to take the reins in rebuilding the senate house after the fire of Clodius in 52 (Cic. *Mil.* 90; Plin. *HN*. 34.21).¹¹ Clearly, the senators wanted to give Sulla's son the right to defend his namesake, which he did, and enlarge the building further. Yet in 44, under a specious pretense of Lepidus wishing to build a Temple of Felicitas on the spot, the Cornelian senate house was torn down and Julius Caesar began plans to build a new Curia, this time with the name of his own *gens* attached to it, in the northwest corner of the Forum.¹² Dio indicates that Sulla's name was attached to the current senate house, and thus the "real purpose" of the new structure was so that Sulla's name would be kept from the Curia, and a new senate-house might bear the Julian name (Cass. Dio 44.5.2); an honor fit for the most potent man in Rome.

The deletion of the senate house of his predecessor went a long way toward removing the Cornelian name from popular usage and inserting the Julian *gens*, so that the Curia Cornelia became the Curia Julia on the lips of those in the Forum, the city, and increasingly, the Roman world at large. Caesar's intended *curia* was likely meant not only to outdo Sulla's as the principal meeting place of the senate, but perhaps also explicitly to eclipse Pompey's theater complex in Rome, which was itself a victory monument. The complex had an attached *curia* that adjoined the structure's porticus. Dedicated in 55, it has

10 Gisborne (2005) 120–1. Gisborne disputes Ramage (1991).

11 For the name of the Sullan-era senate house, see Flower (2010) 131.

12 Weigel (1992) 35–6.

been argued, that the complex was itself likely an attempt by Pompey to shift focus within the city to the Campus Martius, a move that would correspondingly decrease the import of the Forum.¹³ Pompey had already performed the significant gesture of rebuilding a senate house in respect to his restoration of the *bouleuterion* in Antioch. There he had gained acclaim during his campaign to “liberate” the East by repairing the original structure built by Antiochus IV Epiphanes, and endowing it with paintings and a portico (Malalas 211).¹⁴ It is telling that Julius Caesar would later trump Pompey in Antioch as well: rebuilding the Pantheon, constructing the *Kaisareion*, and giving the city a theater and bathhouse (Malalas 216–217; 287). In Rome, Pompey’s theater complex had used the cardinal orientation common among Roman temples, thus highlighting Pompey’s piety and the structure’s ties with the jewel of the theater complex, the Temple of Venus Victrix—the goddess of military victory and the mother of Aeneas. In contrast to Pompey, Caesar seems to have planned to break the curial mold. The Curia Julia deviated from the traditional use of cardinal orientation, but did noticeably maintain a strong tie to the goddess Victory while serving to articulate the connection between the Roman Forum and Forum of Caesar.¹⁵ Caesar never saw the completion of his senate house, although one might argue that he eventually overshadowed Pompey’s *curia*. Indeed, the Curia Pompeia would be known more for the death of Caesar at the feet of its statue of Pompey than anything else. Octavian would assure this by paving it over and placing latrines on the site (Cass. Dio 47.19.1).

Republican to an Imperial Curia

The central nature of the senate house in Octavian’s visual program is suggested in Vitruvius’ preface to his *De Architectura* (pref. 2–3), wherein the author explains the impetus behind his presentation of ten books on the subject of architecture to the princeps in the 20s BC. In it, he recounts his recognition that the building program of the *princeps* used structures to communicate the power of Rome and to convey this message to posterity. Vitruvius’ treatise even provided suggestions for conjuring the ideals of symmetry, proportion, and harmony in urban architecture, and pointed to the role of the senate house along with other structures as architectural joiners within a forum:

13 Kuttner (1999) 357–8.

14 Joseph. *BJ* 1.156–57; Downey (1961) 106, 145.

15 Morselli (1989) 222.

The treasury, prison, and *curia* ('senate house') ought to unite the forum, but in such a manner that the size and proportions of them may be in harmony to those of the forum. Particularly the senate house should be made with special concern to the *dignitas* of the *municipium* or the *civitas*.¹⁶

Vitruvius believed that the senate house in particular should be indicative of the *dignitas* of a community. As imagined by Vitruvius and Augustus, among others, the size and grandeur of a building was capable of personifying Rome's overall *imperium*. The Curia Julia not only embodied Rome's power, but also provided an *exemplum* for other provincial cities to imitate spatially. Senate houses outside of Rome often similarly placed their *curia* to the right, upper corner when one faced the "presiding temple."¹⁷

The building represented more than a spatial connector. Simply looking at his *Res Gestae*, one is struck by the fact that the Curia Julia comes first in Augustus' own list of eighteen buildings he had constructed during his tenure, not to mention those he repaired (*RG* 19). The timing of the temple's consecration was crucial and the gesture symbolic: just two years after the battle of Actium, the *princeps* completed the senate house first planned by his adoptive father. The new *curia senatus* was fashioned to articulate a careful vernacular of authority and legitimacy. On the outside, on the roof, likely stood a statue of Victory with a wreath, on a globe, and the pediment bore the name of the emperor. In the senate house, the young ruler positioned another statue of Victory. Itself an early Hellenistic work originally from Tarentum, the statue was repurposed by Augustus as a patron deity, placed on a pillar above an altar, and adorned with Egyptian *spolia* (Suet. *Aug.* 35.3; Cass. Dio 51.2, 54.30.1; Hdn. 5.5.7, 7.11.3). Drenched in reminders of what happened to those who usurped power (i.e., Cleopatra and Mark Antony), it was at this altar that senators were obliged to offer incense and wine before a meeting. The ritual would reaffirm the connection of the senators with the gods, but also reminded the men of their relationship with the emperor. From her seminal position behind the

16 Vit. *De Arch.* 5.2.1: '*Aerarium, carcer, curia foro sunt coniungenda, sed ita uti magnitudo <ac> symmetriae eorum foro respondeant. maxime quidem curia in primis est facienda ad dignitatem municipii sive civitatis.*'

17 On the placement of provincial *curiae*, particularly in the west (e.g., Conimbriga, Saguntum), as imitative of the Curia Julia in respect to their placement within the forum, see MacMullen (2000) 60–1; Balty (1991) 116–18, 333.

seats of the consuls, Victory presided over the Curia Julia and most meetings of the senate.¹⁸

Monuments in and around the Curia had always had a distinctive significance. Valerius Maximus commented that senators wished to have a statue of Cato the Elder in the senate house, since the senator's service to the Republic as censor and overseer of the *ordo senatus* was so great that they felt he should be present at senatorial meetings (Val. Max. 8.15.2). However, statues could also convey regal connotations. Following his triumphs in the Second Punic War, Scipio Africanus recognized the intentions communicated by having statues of himself placed in certain spots within the city including the Curia, which he refused to accept (Livy 38.56.12, Val. Max. 4.1.6). True, Scipio's modesty won him points in the long run (and a few statues anyway), but curial representations in particular could articulate power and preeminence, as would the statue of Pompey in his Curia Pompeia, and later, the statue of Victory erected in the Curia Julia. Other adornments within the Curia Julia similarly galvanized the connection between the emperor and the senate. Augustus remarked in his *Res Gestae* that in 27 BC, a golden shield called the *clipeus virtutis* was set up in the Curia Julia with an inscription noting that the people and the senate had conferred it on him, and later notes that one of the inscriptions that advertised his title of *pater patriae* was placed in the new senate house (*RG* 34–35).¹⁹ This inscription was one in a set of three; a similar inscription was placed on the pediment of Augustus' house and on the triumphal chariot in his Forum. These inscriptions spoke in unison and, cooperatively, they communicated the bonds between the senate, the emperor, and Roman people. The inscription also served to conclude Augustus' *Res Gestae* itself.

The Roman Curia in Late Antiquity

Although the senate house seems to have been rebuilt by Domitian around AD 94 and detached from the Forum Julium, we have little information on his restoration efforts (*Chron. Min.* 1.146).²⁰ Certainly the building appears to have greatly needed repairs, and perhaps played strategically into the broader building program of the emperor. If the *Historia Augusta* can be believed, the Curia Julia remained a central focus of public life and a linchpin of activity within the city during the second and third centuries, due in part to the continued

¹⁸ See Zanker (1988) 80.

¹⁹ Rehak and Younger (2006) 138.

²⁰ Anderson (1983) 101.

meetings of the senate within it.²¹ An overlooked event transpiring during the reign of Maximinus Thrax, implies that emperors continued to view the Curia Julia as a traditional focal point for expressing their newly-acquired *imperium*, even if the emperor himself was not present in Rome. The Greek historian Herodian noted that in the summer of 238, Thrax, the first soldier-emperor, took on the Germanic Alamans and kept the senate abreast of his valor and triumphs with regular dispatches (Hdn. 7.2.8). Not only did the emperor send announcements, he went one step further and ordered scenes from the battles be set up in front of the Curia, ostensibly “so that the Romans might not only hear about the battle but also be able to see what happened there” (Hdn. 7.8.2).²² It is significant that Herodian in fact lived and wrote in Rome during Maximinus’ reign, leading one to wonder whether the historian used his announcements and the painted scenes in front of the Curia Julia as a basis for his depiction of Maximinus in his *Histories*. Although these paintings and other honorific displays were destroyed later—perhaps immediately following the senate’s declaration of the emperor as a *hostis*—Maximinus Thrax exemplified the continued import of the senate house as a locus of authority and legitimacy, as well as a mediatory hub for the dissemination of information.²³

Parallels between the honors afforded Augustus in the senate house and those of later emperors continued into Late Antiquity. The historian Eutropius, himself a member of the later senatorial elite of the fourth century and always quick to demonstrate the graciousness of the body in addition to its interconnections with the emperor, reported that a golden shield was awarded to Claudius Gothicus by the senate during his brief reign; one that was perhaps highly reminiscent of Augustus’ senatorially conferred *clipeus virtutis* (Eutr. *Brev.* 9.11; Oros. *Hist. Advers. Pag.* 7.23.1). In terms of the senate house itself in the third century, just as the fire of Clodius had created a visual opportunity for Julius Caesar, an unfortunate fire in 283 under Carinus presented Diocletian and Maximian the chance at articulating their connection with the senate through the medium of the Curia Julia. What is striking is the apparent lack of emphasis on the project in the written sources. It is possible that this is itself a reflection of Diocletian’s rocky rapport with the senate. He notably did not validate his ascension to the purple by a reporting to Rome to have his *imperium*

21 Elagabalus met with the senate in the Curia Julia (*Hist. Aug. Elag.* 4.1–2).

22 Herodian 7.2.8 (trans. Echols). The Curia had been used to commemorate victories before, Millar (2002) 104.

23 Herodian’s comments support the material and numismatic evidence for Maximinus Thrax’s *damnatio memoriae* (*Hist. Aug. Max.* 23; 26). See Varner (2004) 200–202; Fig. 200a–c, 201–2.

ratified by the senate. The tetrarch in fact dated his reign to his acclamation by the troops in Nicomedia. Moreover, at this time the first public declarations that the capital of the Empire was anywhere the emperor resided appear. Penned around the year 291, the panegyricist who wrote the *Genethliacus of Maximian Augustus*, reports that senators went from Rome to Milan in order to visit Maximian, thus indicating to the writer that, “the seat of imperial power could then appear to be the place to which each emperor had come” (*Pan. Lat.* 11.12.2, trans. Nixon and Rodgers). Like many emperors in the third century, Diocletian looked more to the military as a legitimizing body than the senate, an Imperial turn reflected upon sadly by Aurelius Victor (*Aur. Vict. Caes.* 37).

Regardless of the lack of close ties with the senatorial aristocracy itself, Diocletian rebuilt Rome’s senate house on the foundations of the previous building, and undertook a broader building program within the city (*Chron. min.* 1.148). It is the Curia Diocletiana that was uncovered by Mussolini’s archaeologists in the early 1930s, and which survives today, in large part. Although some have interpreted the tetrarchic rebuilding of the senate house on its previous foundation as a display of “respectful conservatism”,²⁴ alternately, it may have been more an exhibit of perfunctory deference. The best visual articulation of Diocletian’s interplay with the senate comes from the ‘*Decennalia* Base’ of 303 that—as was regularized iconography at this point—depicts winged victories holding a shield on one side, a procession of senators on another, and the *genius* of the senate behind an emperor being crowned by Victory.²⁵ Despite the base, the tetrarch’s transformation of the state into a Dominate rather than a partnership with the senate became all too blatant when, in 303, Diocletian came to Rome to celebrate twenty years of rule. Lactantius reports that he cut his visit short due to the outspokenness of the Roman crowds, and chose to retire to Ravenna to celebrate his ninth consulate (*Lactant. De mort. pers.* 17). The rebuilding of the senate house can usually signal the relationship between senate and emperor to modern readers, but in the case of Diocletian, it does not appear that it was done with an intention of solidifying a strong working relationship.

Epigraphic evidence from the provinces also points to the fact that the building and rebuilding of senate houses was a significant act of renewal. An inscription from Belalis Maior in Africa Proconsularis dated to the reign of Constantine commemorates the rebuilding of the *curia* there.²⁶ Another,

24 Watkin (2009) 40.

25 It is possible but not definitive that the *genius senatus* is represented on the base of one of the columns erected by Diocletian in the Roman Forum in 303, L’Orange (1973) 139.

26 *CIL* VIII, 14436 = *ILS* 5518 (AD 326–333).

dated to the period between 379 and 383, commemorates the rebuilding of the *curia* of decurions in the Numidian city of Lambaesis and underscores how rebuilding a senate house could emphasize both a civic renaissance and the traditional mores of the benefactor.²⁷ The inscription commences with the description of the era under Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius as a golden one, under whom buildings were rebuilt and new ones were constructed. As part of this broader urban renewal, a former duumvir named Lucius Silicius Rufus paid to have the local *curia* and aqueducts restored, which had fallen into disrepair due, in part, to the notable '*incuria*' of previous generations. In the provinces, as in Rome, modifications to the *curia* of a city could often symbolize rebirth and recommitment, and in Late Antiquity, this continued in places such as North Africa, where civic institutions continued to flourish. In Rome, although Diocletian repaired the Curia, it was Constantine who would re-cultivate imperial amity with the body both visually and in actuality, connecting himself with the senate in coinage and enlarging its numbers to 2000.²⁸

Following Constantine, there was resurgence in the energy of the senatorial aristocracy at Rome and an increase in their autonomy in terms of membership and magistracies. At the end of Constantine's reign, the senate had gained the ability to adlect new men into its ranks, though the emperor would then ratify the adlections, and by 359, it was responsible for appointing the quaestorship and praetorship.²⁹ Additionally, despite the fact that the emperor was increasingly absent from Rome, the senate house continued to play a pivotal part in spatially mediating the ritual relationship between the senate and the emperor. Ammianus reports that in April of 357, Constantius II initially met with senators as part of a delegation outside the city, and then addressed senators in the Curia (Amm. Marc. 16.10.13). His trip to Rome was in many ways a pilgrimage, his descent into the Roman Forum itself highly emblematic and steeped in tradition. Ammianus Marcellinus reminds us that the welcome the emperor received in Rome thus fulfilled a *laetitia optata*, a 'longed-for pleasure' of Constantius' (Amm. Marc. 16.10.13). As Ammianus demonstrates, and Mark Humphries has so seminally pointed out, the senate continued to exert considerable effort in reestablishing active relations between itself and increasingly absent Augusti, often using monuments to articulate these bonds.³⁰ The

27 CIL VIII, 18328 = ILS 5520; Lepelley (1979) 420.

28 Coinage: RIC 7 Rome 272. Bleckmann (2006) 19. The senate would also laud him as '*liberator*' on the Arch of Constantine, erected in 315; see Salzman (2002) 34–36.

29 Salzman (2002) 34.

30 Humphries (2003).

actions and monuments decreed by the senate in the fourth century reveal that the senate still envisioned itself as a strong, solvent institution both capable of and necessary for legitimizing imperial rule. Yet the controversy surrounding the Altar of Victory in the later fourth century demonstrated how irrelevant the Senate's view had become to the emperor.

It is within the context of this resurgence in senatorial identity—and with the previous analysis of the import of the senate house in connecting imperial power with that of the senate in mind—that we can reevaluate the controversy surrounding the removal of the Altar of Victory from the Curia. In many ways, Constantius trod in the well-worn footsteps of his predecessors while visiting Rome, and articulated his legitimacy as many had done before him: vis-à-vis his interactions with the senate house and through monuments.³¹ Ambrose (*Ep.* 73.32) notes Constantius' removal of the statue of Victory from the senate house had the force of an imperial act; however, his motivations are unclear. The removal was perhaps an attempt to pacify Christian senators and outspoken laity (such as the Christian astrologer Firmicus Maternus) who viewed the burning of incense and the pouring of libations on the altar as an affront to Christian doctrine. Alternately, it may have been a lucid message to the senators that, just like God himself, Constantius had the right to give to the Curia, but could also take away. The issue of the statue was, in all likelihood, only of great concern to a select few elite Christians and non-Christians, and was not an attempt to cleanse the senate of paganism.³² In fact, Constantius appears to have quite appreciated the power of a conventional monumental testament to project legitimacy. The emperor simply chose a more popular venue than the senate house: the Circus Maximus. In the Circus, he placed a behemoth, 32.5 meter-high Egyptian obelisk complete with an inscribed proclamation of victory in verse on its base that cast the obelisk as a tropaeum.³³ The inscribed history of the obelisk connected Constantius with his beloved father, but also put forth Constantius as a victor in his own right.

The story of the Curia's Altar of Victory did not end with Constantius. It appears that the altar was put back after his death, only to be removed once again under Gratian in 382. Unlike Constantius, Gratian additionally halted subsidies to temples, confiscated lands belonging to the priestly colleges and

31 See Edbrooke (1976).

32 Cameron (2010) 56, 40. Symmachus notes that Constantius did not remove the *impensas* (subsidies) for Roman rituals (*Rel.* 3.7). See Liebeschuetz (2005).

33 *CIL* VI, 1163. Also note *Amm. Marc.* 16.10.17. See Henck (2001) 281–83; Humphries (2001) 61.

Roman temples, and cut off the tax exemptions given to certain priesthoods.³⁴ Although some clerics appear to have viewed the altar as a pagan symbol, the pagan senator Symmachus viewed it as more than just an instrument of traditional Roman religion; it was an umbilical cord that served as a physical mediator between the emperor and the senate. Since Augustus, it had visually marked the close ties held between the two entities. Its removal—likely by a Christian *praefectus urbi*—was illustrative of Gratian's lack of regard for the traditional Senatorial aristocracy. It was also collectively an affront to the increasingly autonomous sense acquired by the senate during the fourth century.

Although many have assaulted the ebbing prestige of the Late Antique senate, the Curia and the body itself continued to symbolize legitimacy, prestige, and traditional *Romanitas* into the fifth and early sixth century. Increasingly, it was the urban prefect or other elite families that appear to have taken on the expense of repairs to the Curia. Following the sacking of Rome in 410, it was likely restored in 412 by the urban prefect Neratius Palmatus, and later, the Secretarium was also restored.³⁵ The continued *dignitas* of the senate and the role of the urban prefect as civic patron became particularly apparent under the Ostrogoths. Just as the Roman senate was largely responsible for presenting the Scirian general Odoacer's rule as a legitimate and stabilizing solution, and passing it through Constantinople, so too Theodoric looked to the senate to endow him with a veneer of legitimacy.³⁶ Per usual, this was signified with a ceremonial visit to the Curia. In the year 500, which marked the seventh year of the reign of the Ostrogothic king over Italy, the ruler decided to visit Rome for 6 months. Pope Symmachus, senatorial families, and crowds of Romans greeted the arrival of the king upon his entrance into the city, where he first knelt to pray at St. Peter's, before entering into the Curia in the Roman Forum (Anon. Val. 65–66). Part of the ritual of legitimacy had become a pilgrimage to Rome's senate house.

34 Cameron (2011) 46, views the subsidies as a central point of contention in the Altar of Victory issue.

35 An inscription restored by Chastagnol (1962) 270, provides strong evidence for the reconstruction of the Curia. This inscription (*CIL* VI, 37128) reads: '...[IM]PERANT[IBUS?] .../[N]ERATIVS IV[STVS?] .../[C]URIAM SEN[ATUS]...' At the time when it was recovered, the inscription had been reused perhaps twice. Bartoli (1949–50) 79, seems to think (likely mistakenly) that it was from the original phase of building. For a picture, see Coates-Stephens (2002) 290, Fig. 5.

36 Marazzi (2007) 282.

Restorations of the senate house continued under Ostrogothic rule, but were increasingly the purview of the urban prefect. A letter written by Cassiodorus for Theodoric's successor-grandson, Athalaric, in 527 in fact confirms that the Curia was restored by the father of the aptly named urban prefect Reparatus (who was also the brother of Pope Vigilius):

The son of a high official naturally aspires to emulate his father's dignities. Your father had a distinguished career, first as Comes Largitionum, then as Praefectus Praetorio. While holding the latter office, he repaired the Senate House, restored to the poor the gifts(?) of which they had been deprived...³⁷

Although the political role of the senate in the sixth century was limited largely to Italy and the city of Rome, patronage of the Curia remained as a medium for senators to advertise the traditional Roman ideal of civic euergetism—just as it had in the Republic.

The Curia itself seems to have withstood the struggle over the city between the Gothic forces and Belisarius' Byzantine troops in 537–538, though it is only mentioned in regard to its proximity to the Temple of Janus, whose doors the Byzantine troops wished to prop open in the mode of Republican tradition (Procop. *Goth.* 5.25.19). Procopius' account of the siege in his *Gothic Wars* in fact focuses on the mythological and historical elements of the city—the Temple of Janus, the ship of Aeneas, the Sibylline books—rather than Christian monuments.³⁸ Procopius' account also illustrates the strength and prominence of the senatorial aristocracy within the city. Despite this textual and archaeological evidence to the contrary, however, scholars such as Richard Krautheimer have proclaimed that, "Rome by the early fifth century was a Christian city."³⁹ Rebutted convincingly as of late, this view must be abandoned.⁴⁰ The continued strength of the senate under Ostrogothic rule, the rebuilding of the Curia and other Roman buildings by administrators, and the continued focus on pre-Christian structures demonstrates that this was not the case; Roman

37 Cassiod. *Var.* 9.7.2. trans. Hodgkin: *'Dudum itaque illustris recordationis genitoris tui res publica sensit Romana diligentiam. comitivae siquidem largitionum praesidens, functus etiam vicibus praefectorum, praetorianam egit integerrime dignitatem, curiam reparans, pauperibus ablata restituens...'* See Kalas (1999) 260.

38 Ship of Aeneas (8.22.5–6), Sibylline Book (5.25.28); Cameron (1985) 203.

39 Krautheimer (1983) 94.

40 Humphries (2007) 21–23.

institutions still persisted, Christianity had not fully remade the city, and Constantinople had not completely eclipsed the dignified, long-lasting heritage of mother Roma, even if it was wealthier. Procopius claimed that Romans loved their city more than any other populace, and did attempt to preserve its buildings (Procop. *Goth.* 3.17.13; 4.22.5–6). The author notes that even Belisarius realized that to raze the city was to rob his predecessors of their memorial; in a letter to Totila, who had a history of razing cities, Belisarius entreated him to act as a preserver rather than destroyer of Rome (Procop. *Goth.* 3.22).

From Senate House to Church

The later sixth century saw the decline of the Roman senate and the encroachment of more foreign occupants: the Lombards. It appears that the last act of the Roman senate was to send an embassy to Constantinople to request aid from Tiberius II in 578. The request was denied. Although there is a report in the *Registrum Epistolarum* that on April 25, 603 the senate turned out, along with the clergy and Pope Gregory the Great, to greet the icons of Phocas and Leontia—it was far from the Curia and the Roman Forum—in the Lateran Palace (Greg. Mag. *Reg. App.* VIII).⁴¹ But the senate house was not abandoned. A column dedicated to Phocas was also erected in the Forum in front of the Curia—as Humphries suggests, in order to tap into an archaic *locus* of power.⁴² The Roman senate had indeed lapsed under the pressure of “barbarians” and the crumbling of the Western Empire, but senatorial families still had a degree of sway within the city. Pope Honorius was himself from a senatorial family and appears to have identified strongly with his lineage; his father was remembered as one of the final consuls in the West. It was he who, around 630, transformed the Curia with minimal alterations into S. Adriano (*Liber Pontificalis* 72.6, ed. Davis). He notably kept the senatorial benches intact. As Gregor Kalas points out, this transformation was to usher the papacy into the Roman Forum while still “maintaining the location’s political valence.”⁴³ By all accounts, the transition from Curia to church was a smooth one. Visually, the Curia still retained much of its familiar aesthetics, with a raised sanctuary area added and an apse.

41 For translation, see Martyn (2004) 886.

42 Humphries (2007) 57.

43 Kalas (1999) 263.

Conclusion

During the early Middle Ages, many monumental buildings within the city of Rome were transformed into *diaconiae*—buildings used for public welfare, particularly to feed pilgrims—with few modifications made to their ‘pagan’ ornamentation.⁴⁴ In regard to the Curia, which became a *diaconia* in the mid-eighth century, early medieval liturgies still utilized the centrality of the structure within the Forum area.⁴⁵ However, the Forum Romanum increasingly declined in the Renaissance. Nicholas V used it as a kind of quarry that stripped many buildings of their stone and ornament, though S. Adriano did remain intact. Into the early modern period, the church underwent renovations in 1589 and 1653–1656.⁴⁶ It is perhaps evidence of the transformation of the Curia into a relic within a kind of curial cult itself that in the seventeenth century the bronze doors that dated to the reign of Diocletian were removed from S. Adriano in order to provide the central nave’s door at San Giovanni in Laterano. Even in the Christian period, patronage and control over the Curia represented triumph.

Despite its earlier fame, the former identity of S. Adriano as the Roman Senate House appears to have been largely forgotten. When archaeologists in the mid 19th century uncovered its early origins, it sparked new interest in the area in and around the church. In 1922, the Italian government finally purchased the Curia for £16,000, just a few months before Benito Mussolini became Prime Minister.⁴⁷ It is with the structure’s storied connection to legitimate rule and victory in mind that we can now return to the dictator’s fervent rebuilding of the Curia Julia and likewise reinterpret a letter from the Bishop of Luni to the Ministry of National Education in 1933. In it, the bishop pleaded against the restoration of the Curia and its deconsecrating as a church. It was his belief that the church of S. Adriano was itself a symbol of Christian victory over paganism.⁴⁸ Yet clearly, as we have seen, Mussolini was merely the last in a long line of “victors” who used the Curia to communicate their own message. The Curia was a relic that harbored the glory of Rome that Mussolini sought to uncover, harness, and reinterpret in the Forum excavations in the 1930s. While the site at various times appears to have lain dormant, its significance was intrinsic; its import could be reactivated. Just as the senatorial body acted as a

44 Niederer (1953) 3–6.

45 Goodson (2010) 76; *CBCR* 1, 1.

46 *CBCR* 1, 1.

47 “Roman Senate House Sold,” *NYT* (July 11, 1922); Watkin (2009) 118–19.

48 Baxa (2010) 131.

Republican “focus of mediation” between the gods and the people, the senate house itself served as a locus of power that mediated relations between various institutions.⁴⁹ Most importantly, the Curia bestowed a tool for advertising legitimacy upon those who wished to restore her.⁵⁰

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49 Beard (1990) 33.

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Second Chance for Valor: Restoration of Order After Mutinies and Indiscipline

Lee L. Brice

Students of the Roman military may be excused for drawing incorrect impressions about the stability of Roman legions during the Late Republic and Early Empire. Writing on military historiography, John Keegan observed, “Certainly no military institution of which we have detailed, objective knowledge has ever been given the monumental, marmoreal, almost monolithic uniformity of character which classical writers conventionally ascribe to the Legions.”¹ Keegan may have been waxing rhetorical, but his characterization is not far off the mark, and still applies as much to modern military historians as it does to “classical writers.” The modern image of the Roman military remains remarkably idealistic.² Many readers still think of the Roman military not only as a success, but also as a military machine, rolling inexorably over the Mediterranean world with its efficient training and brutal discipline.

Despite its reputation for rigid efficiency and coercive discipline, there were outbreaks of indiscipline and unrest in the Roman military. This fact of military life was only natural. Every institution that relies on ordered, collective action for success is occasionally subject to disturbances by its participants, even the military. In the military these disturbances took the form of indiscipline and unrest. What makes military unrest more dangerous to stability is that soldiers receive training in working together effectively under stress and in the efficient use of weapons. The potential for organized violence and the military’s importance as an institution are why military unrest was such a threat to the stability of any state.

The Roman military was undeniably successful, but we also know that military unrest occurred and was more common than has been thought in the past. Every Roman commander who spent much time actively campaigning

1 Keegan (1976) 68.

2 The traditional view is found in most books on the Roman army written before 2007 and many general works that are still produced; see Pekáry (1987) and Brice (2003) 3–16.

contended with outbreaks of military unrest.³ Incidents ranged in size from individual acts like desertion to collective unrest such as mutinies. Authors have long blamed soldiers' idleness or political instability for unrest in the military (e.g., Vell. Pat. 2.20.4, 61.2, 81.1, and 125.1, Tac. *Ann.* 1.16–17, 2.55.5, App. *BCiv* 5.17, Cass. Dio 49.13.1, 57.5.1).⁴ Some of it was undoubtedly due to political instability, but outbreaks of military unrest in all varieties were usually a result of weak discipline, poor command, or conditions of service. Regardless of its causes, military unrest was a genuine and consistent problem.

Although it was a potential threat to stability and occasionally led to changes in leadership, military unrest did not cause or contribute to the wholesale collapse of the Empire during most of Roman history because commanders were able to restore military order at the end of most incidents. The successful restoration of military order ensured that soldiers could not undermine the state because they remained subject to the military or removed from it. The purpose of this chapter is to shed light on this observation through a discussion of typical responses to collective military unrest (e.g., mutinies) during the Late Republic and Early Empire, demonstrating that the most successful responses shared common features. These successful approaches to resolution seem to have been learned through experience rather than becoming a formalized policy. Since commanders learned their military skills through experience, it should not be surprising that similar responses to military unrest spread among more experienced officers without having become formalized in law or policy.

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- 3 Pat Southern's (2006) recent social and institutional history of the Roman army is typical of the traditional view in that it gives the impression that there was little indiscipline and it was unimportant except for what it tells us about Roman punishments. Sabin, van Wees, and Whitby (2007) take a transitional view by acknowledging in volume two that there was Roman military unrest, but only mention the most serious incidents, and mostly after AD 235. Other recent work has provided some corrective for the traditional view, see Chrissanthos (2001) and (2014); Lendon (2006); Keaveney (2007); Phang (2008); Brice (2003, 2011, 2014); Connal (2012); Coulston (2013). Not all of these correctives are of equal value as Lendon, Phang, Coulston, and Chrissanthos focused on discipline generally rather than indiscipline and achieved mixed results.
 - 4 Alston (2007) 189; Keaveney (2007) 81–89; and Phang (2008) 102–103, 221–24, 264, 267–69, and 272. Idleness by soldiers was a military crime (*Dig.* 49.16), but idleness as an actual cause of military unrest is similar to blaming “spontaneity” in other forms of collective action; McPhail (1991) 155; Brice (2003) 19. When ancient authors report that military unrest broke out due to idleness, we should usually understand it as ‘code’ for poor leadership.

Definitions & Phases

Before proceeding I must devote some space to defining military unrest and its specific forms as well as how it can be analyzed. Examinations of military unrest in Roman armies have usually referred to such disturbances as mutiny, as if it was the only word for unrest.⁵ Privileging the modern term “mutiny” or the Latin *seditio* or, even, the Greek *ataxia* has hamstrung the ways in which historians discuss outbreaks of unrest. Not every incident was a mutiny. Ancient authors in all periods used an array of terms in Greek and Latin to describe a variety of military unrest and so must modern historians examining those events.⁶ Military-sociologists and historians have developed a varied and useful vocabulary for treating unrest by soldiers.⁷ This vocabulary provides a level of distinction and standardization that allows differentiation of scale and significance that is currently lacking from many discussions of unrest in ancient armies.

Military unrest emerged in one of several forms including military conspiracy, mutiny, expression of grievances, and insubordination. Although their impact and their treatment in surviving sources distinguish military conspiracies and mutinies as ‘greater’ forms of unrest, the latter two were ‘lesser’ forms of unrest that usually emerged without violence. These terms permit a more nuanced and realistic discussion of unrest in any military context, including in that of the ancient world. Since the discussion in this chapter concerns primarily mutinies, I will define and discuss only that type of unrest.⁸ What will

5 Keaveney (2007); Phang (2008); Chrissanthos (2001) and (2014); Coulston (2013).

6 Latin authors had an array of terms (both nouns and verbs) including: *seditio* (mutiny, revolt, insubordination), *motus* and *defectio* (rebellion), *res novae* (revolution), *desciscare* (to defect, revolt), *discordia* (discord), *turba* (disturbance), *tumultus* (riot), *bellum civile* (civil war), *coniuratio* (conspiracy), *infidelitas* (disloyalty), and *desertor* (defector), *desero* and *relinquo* (to desert). Greek authors also used a variety of terms (and their derivatives) to refer to unrest, including: *στάσις* (strife, conflict, mutiny), *νεωτερίζω* and *νεοχμώω* (to revolt), *ἐμφύλιος πόλεμος* (civil war), *θορυβέω* and *ταράσσω* (to cause an uproar, tumult), *συνωμοσία* and *ἐπιβούλευμα* (conspiracy), *μεθίστημι* (to defect), and *ἀταξία* (disorder, indiscipline). See Brice (2003) 76.

7 Lammers (1969) and (2003); Kaegi (1981); Rose (1982); Brice (2003) 65–76 and (2014). Cornelis Lammers’s work (1969, 2003) on strikes and mutinies is important to understanding how a mutiny can progress, but because his work was limited to modern naval mutinies some of his conclusions do not apply to incidents in ancient armies. For example, the type of mutiny/strike he called (1969) a “promotion of interest protest” would lump together most mutinies and all expressions of grievances in ancient militaries and so is too imprecise to use effectively.

8 For more on the definitions of other forms of military unrest, see Brice (2014).

become clear is that the definition is sufficient to cover all instances and is consistent with modern work in military history and military-sociology.

Of the terms employed to describe resistance within the military, “mutiny” is perhaps the most problematic. Although “mutiny” evokes a bounty of vivid images of insubordination or violence by lower ranks against commanders, no broad consensus exists among ancient historians for its historical definition and specific usage. On the basis that it is a modern term and potentially anachronistic, some authors question application of the word “mutiny” to any type of unrest in ancient armies; however, refusal to employ “mutiny” in this context is not necessary and is not appropriate.⁹ There is no efficacious alternative in the English language that can easily be substituted if “mutiny” is abandoned. Without the word “mutiny,” the Latin term *seditio* is difficult to translate with any reasonable and consistent sense and “sedition” will not work for *seditio*, because it carries a treasonous connotation.¹⁰ Additionally, if historians of any period find that an event meets all the criteria for a modern term, then the modern term should be employed, especially if it is not something that is chronologically dependent. No one would suggest that the word “government” or “marriage” should be rejected outright just because it is a modern word. Neither these words nor “mutiny” are chronologically dependent in the same way as terms like “radar” or “margin call.” Despite disagreements among some scholars, analysis of recent work on unrest reveals that the term “mutiny” can be defined broadly enough to be chronologically open, while remaining sufficiently narrow to be useful in delineating the scale of particular incidents.

A mutiny is defined as collective, violent (actual, potential, or threatened) opposition to established military authority. Events included in this variety of unrest are riots, tumults, disturbances, and similar incidents, as well as the incitement of these outbreaks. In this definition, mutiny is always collective action and is limited nearly always to actions by regular soldiers—although some low-level officers might participate in some cases during the Republic. Mutiny was merely one type of military unrest, but requires attention because of its occasional notoriety and potential for damage and instability. In addition to its potential for violence, because a mutiny damaged military order in the units where it occurred and could undermine discipline among military units that did not even participate, it was a great threat to military stability. Through use of this definition, it becomes easier to identify certain incidents of military unrest and discuss them with more precision.

9 Carney (1996) 19–21, especially 20; discussed further in Brice (2003) 66.

10 Kaegi (1981) 4.

In addition to defining mutiny and other types of military unrest, we now recognize that like most forms of collective action, mutiny developed in phases.¹¹ Awareness of these phases allows us to better understand how incidents developed and were resolved by separating the stages of action and allowing us to see and examine each in turn. The first stage is the appearance of *strain*. Strain is the problem or stress that causes unit members to become agitated. The strain can be tied to a variety of issues and may have several components (real or imagined) simultaneously. This phase is the one in which we must look for the true cause of the outbreak. For example, the stress of continuous campaigning was a strain on Caesar's army in 49 (Suet. *Iul.* 69, Luc. *Phar.* 5.217–390, Plut. *Caes.* 37, App. *BCiv.* 2.47–48, Cass. Dio 41.26–35). Strain often affects participants differently so not everyone will react the same way. The second stage is *generalized belief* in which members of the group (potential mutineers) acquire a shared belief in who or what is responsible for the strain. Some of Caesar's legionaries in 47 came to believe that Caesar was the source of the unending warfare and they mutinied, refusing to deal with anyone else (Caes. *BAfr* 19.3, Suet. *Iul.* 70, App. *BCiv.* 2.92–4, Cass. Dio 42.52). It is in this belief phase that we often find the reasons why two units experiencing the same strain do not both mutiny. One group acquired a sufficiently shared belief while the other did not, for reasons we cannot now determine. Phases one and two can exist in groups without leading to mutiny, but the *trigger*, phase three, is what leads these to combust into mutiny. For example, when Octavian discharged half his army in late 31 (Suet. *Aug.* 17.3, Cass. Dio 51.3–4) that was the trigger for the post-Actium mutinies even though the strain on the men was wrapped up in the opportunity to assault Egypt.¹² Analyzing the origin of mutiny in terms of three distinct phases allows us to separate the underlying causes from the trigger and helps explain why some strains result in mutiny.

Once a mutiny begins, the fourth phase, *mobilization*, is how the collective action spreads as participants are “recruited” and organized or directed. Leaders, formal or informal, play a key role in mobilization. Without mobilization a collective action is unlikely to continue much beyond its trigger. For example, in the mutinies of AD 14, many men were swept along repeatedly, in

11 Lammers (1969); Rose (1982) 565–67; Hathaway (2001) xiv–xv; and Brice (2003) 23–25. In my analysis I split Rose's *origin* phase and Hathaway's *rising action* and *trigger* phases into three components: strain, belief, and trigger. This expansion permits better identification of the actual cause of the incident as opposed to its trigger. It also helps better explain why two units subject to the same conditions respond differently.

12 The mutiny in 49 is discussed in the next section. On the mutiny in 47 see Chrissanthos (2001); Brice (2011) 38. On the mutiny in 31 see Brice (2011) 52–53 and n.66 and 116–21.

waves, and yet enough soldiers remained unattached for the officers to regain the upper hand (Vell. Pat. 2.125, Tac. *Ann.* 1.16–19, Cass. Dio 57.4). Mobilization continues until the military authority is able to reassert order.

The final phase is the *restoration of control*. Restoring control includes removing or addressing the original strain that had caused the mutiny and restoring discipline. The most successful examples of this final phase go beyond punishment of ringleaders and include steps the military authority takes to give the unit a chance to accept social control and reintegrate into the military. For example, after restoring discipline in a unit by removing the ringleaders (not necessarily killing them) a commander might then order the unit on a long march or quick, aggressive campaign in order to restore unit cohesion, discipline, and morale. The final phase of most outbreaks is the most important since successful resolution minimized or eliminated the damage to military stability. Recognizing that mutiny, and other forms of collective military unrest, can be seen occurring in phases provides an effective approach for better understanding and explaining these incidents. By throwing light on the restoration of control at the end, this approach can also make more clear why the Roman military was so effective despite military unrest. Several examples illustrate different attempts to resolve mutinies.

Case Studies

Placentia 49 BC

Late in 49 BC one of Julius Caesar's legions mutinied. His response was swift and consistent with his reaction to other mutinies during his career.¹³ His legions were returning to Italy after difficult campaigning in Spain. Legion IX mutinied outside Placentia.¹⁴ They blamed their officers, especially Caesar who was still at Massilia, for continuing the war interminably and not paying them previously promised bounties. There is the suggestion in Dio's account that the soldiers sought to extort opportunities out of a commander who needed them in the war (Suet. *Iul.* 69, Plut. *Caes.* 37, App. *BCiv.* 2.47, Cass. Dio 41.26). The first four phases of the mutiny occurred swiftly and seem not to have been especially violent or unusual.

13 Caesar's legions mutinied during the Gallic Wars in 58 at Vesontio and later in 47 at Campania; see Chrissanthos (2001).

14 Appian (*BCiv.* 2.47) has Caesar's speech blame legion IX for "starting" the mutiny, but there is no support for assuming, as Chrissanthos (2001) 68 does, that it spread. The resolution only ever applied to one legion.

The final phase opened with Caesar's swift return from Massilia with his three remaining legions. He would have taken several days to arrive, but his return indicates that his legates could not resolve matters. Once there he harangued the troops and threatened to decimate legion *IX* and discharge the survivors. This threat surprised the men and their officers who immediately pleaded for a lesser sanction (App. *BCiv.* 2.47, Cass. Dio 41.35). His threat was entirely within military law (*Dig.* 49.16) even if it seems extreme. It was effective. Caesar's threat to punish the entire legion was a calculated move to separate the actual ringleaders from the numerous soldiers who had not joined or had been swept up in the mobilization phase. The threat worked and Caesar was able to isolate the 120 ringleaders. Needing men but also seeking to resolve the mutiny, he decimated only the ringleaders. Once he had resolved the mutiny Caesar ordered the legion to continue marching to Brundisium (App. *BCiv.* 2.47–48; Cass. Dio 41.35–36; Front. *Strat.* 4.5.2). Legion *IX* performed well for the rest of the campaign in Greece.¹⁵

Caesar's resolution worked because it effectively restored military and social control over the legion. His threat separated the ringleaders from the rest of the legion. Two aspects of collective unrest contributed to Caesar's success. Not everyone who is present at the start of collective action takes part. Additionally, participants make a mental calculation of the probability of punishment—the less likely they will be punished severely, the more incentive there is to mutiny.¹⁶ The soldiers of legion *IX* seem to have calculated that Caesar needed them too much to discharge or execute them, as Dio (41.34) suggested. Caesar demonstrated he would impose the full penalties and so those men who were not fully committed immediately turned on the ringleaders to save their lives. Isolating the most restive soldiers was an important part of Caesar's resolution strategy.

Once he had separated the ringleaders Caesar had to go forward with some punishment or the threat was empty. Mass discharge was an effective threat since it resulted in a loss of status among the veterans and there were opportunities for bounties and spoils to be lost. The alternative, decimation, was brutal. It was effective since it punished the entire group by making soldiers kill their comrades. Simultaneously, however, it provided the unit a chance to purge and expiate its guilt through the deaths, thus contributing to restoring social control through religious as well as social sanctions.¹⁷ Finally, for Caesar

15 Chrissanthos (2001); Keaveney (2007) 83.

16 On participation percentage see McPhail (1991) 89–107 and 163–74; Brice (2003) 152. On the mental calculation of participants see Lammers (1969).

17 Lintott (1999) 41–43.

it was preferable over discharge because it eliminated fewer able soldiers. Imposing punishment was not the last part of Caesar's strategy, he still had to restore military order in the unit.

Decimation by itself would have been a disruptive way to restore order if not followed up with an opportunity for the soldiers to prove their loyalty and courage. Sending the unit to Brundisium for campaigning in Greece further reinforced the restoration of control and provided the remaining men a chance to acquit themselves in combat. Far from giving in to the mutineers as some have suggested,¹⁸ Caesar restored order and then kept legion *IX* in the field for the next three years, employing them in Greece and North Africa (Caes. *BCiv.* 3.45, 46, 62, 66–67, 89, *BAfr.* 53, 60, 62, 81).

Caesar used much the same strategy of threatening mass discharge when he encountered the mutiny in 47 and eventually achieved similar success. In that case he restored order, but did begin discharging units afterwards (Plut. *Caes.* 51, Cass. Dio 42.54).¹⁹ This threat of mass execution or discharge was a response found repeatedly in the history of Roman military unrest and seems to have been part of the repertoire officers learned through command experience.²⁰ Little wonder that commanders employed it since it worked more often than not.

Brundisium 44 BC

The importance of effective restoration of social control becomes clear in a second example. In October 44 BC, after sparring in Rome with Octavian, Mark Antony arrived in Brundisium to gather his legions and march to his governorship in Cisalpine Gaul (Cic. *Fam.* 12.23.2, Nic. Dam. 109 and 131, *RG* 15.1, App. *BCiv.* 3.27, 39, Cass. Dio 45.7). He commanded legions formerly stationed in Macedonia including *IV* and *Martia*, and some new recruits.²¹ Octavian's agents had preceded him to Brundisium and attacked Antony's reputation, offered bribes, and posted notices to undermine the legions' loyalty (Nic. Dam. 139, App. *BCiv.* 3.31, 39–40, and 44). Antony found the soldiers unruly and when he failed to address their expectations for rewards and their demands to fight

18 Chrissanthos (2001); Keaveney (2007) 83–85.

19 Chrissanthos (2001) 73–74 argues that Caesar did not punish the mutineers in 47. While it is true he did not execute anyone immediately, he expected to need the men and the discharges with reduced benefits were a punishment after all.

20 Scipio had employed it in 206 BC (Polyb. 11.25–30, Livy 28.24–32, App. *Hisp.* 34–37), and Pompey had done the same (Plut. *Pomp.* 11, 13–14); Brice (2003) 92–95.

21 The legions from Macedonia included *IV*, *Martia*, and *II* or *XXXV*. See Keppie (1998) 114; Brice (2003) 86–95.

the assassins of Caesar they created a disturbance. He then called an assembly (*contio*) and offered a bounty to each man, at which members of legions *IV* and the *Martia* mutinied, led by their centurions.

Having appealed to the soldiers as comrades and offered them a reward, Antony found he was unable to restore order peacefully.²² He resorted to threats and enforced military law, ordering the execution of some of the mutinous centurions and soldiers with records of indiscipline. After tribunes separated out the mutinous men, possibly including centurions, Antony selected less than a tenth of these by lot and executed them. He does not appear to have focused attention on the ringleaders necessarily, so much as on men with a reputation for insolence. Afterwards, he replaced an indeterminate number of centurions and tribunes among the mutinous legions (Cic. *Phil.*, 3.4 and 30, 5.22, 12.12, and 13.18, App. *BCiv* 3.43, Cass. Dio 45.13.1–3). His threats did not lead to the separation of the ringleaders from the rest of the legions; rather, it had the opposite effect—unifying the opposition within the restive legions. The punishment, including the execution of centurions and troops as well as the replacement of officers, fell hardest on legion *Martia*. Afterward, he called a final assembly at which he cowed the men into accepting the original offer. In addition to convincing the legions to acquiesce to his bounty promise, it is probable that he issued a new *sacramentum* since the initial mutiny was a breach of any prior oath. Thinking he had ‘restored’ control Antony marched north toward Rome and Cisalpine Gaul (Cic. *Att.* 16.8, *Fam.* 12.23, *Phil.* 3, 4, 5, 11 and 13; App. *BCiv.* 3.43–46; Cass. Dio 45.13.1–3).

The mutiny reemerged outside Rome as soon as Antony left the legions in camp and departed for the city to harangue the senate. Legions *Martia* and *IV* mutinied with some or all of their officers and declared their intention to join Octavian. Both legions changed sides. Antony approached the mutineers to address them and recover their loyalty, but they responded belligerently. When he was unable to bring the legions back under command, Antony returned to Tibur, enrolled more veterans, and moved north toward Mutina with the rest of his force (Cic. *Phil.* 3, 4, 5, 11, 13, *Fam.* 11.7; Vell. Pat. 2.61.2; App. *BCiv.* 3.45–46; Cass. Dio 45.13.3).²³

Antony’s attempt to restore control was entirely within Roman practice, but still failed. He seems to have threatened the mutineers before resorting to violence. He also had the soldiers’ records examined to identify trouble-makers. He then had a percentage of centurions and soldiers from this group

22 Such an appeal on the basis of a relationship as comrades (*commilitones*) was well known and usually effective; see Campbell (1984) 32–33; MacMullen (1984) 443–44.

23 Brice (2003) 88–89; Keaveney (2007) 85–86.

executed, mostly from legion *Martia*. Antony did not threaten or employ decimation or require their own unit execute them, but seems to have had his bodyguards carry out the punishment.²⁴ Afterward, he called another assembly and finding the men less openly restive he paid out a small bounty, promised more, and changed the legionary officers as a precaution. These steps were entirely within his prerogative. Antony was so out of touch with these legions' temperament that he was caught completely unaware when they mutinied outside Rome. His response then was to reissue the *sacramentum* to his remaining legions and march north.

Using the phases to examine the mutiny permits a better understanding of why Antony's efforts in the last phase failed. We must acknowledge that Octavian had undermined his legions (only two, as it turned out); thus Antony was not dealing with a typical mutiny. Despite this fact, some of Antony's efforts should still have paid off. His first failure was not separating the ringleaders from the rest of the unit. He probably threatened violence and everyone knew the penalty for mutiny. The participants must have decided that either the likelihood of penalty was low or their demands were worth the punishment because the violence did not separate the casual participants from the ringleaders. The penalties and Antony's refusal to acknowledge their demands for revenge seem to have changed the mutiny from one in which the men wanted their interests met to one in which they wanted to break with Antony.²⁵ He used limited punishment, but then remained, through his own frustration or delusion compounded by changing the officers, unaware of the state of affairs in the legions. In this situation it became unlikely that Antony could restore control. He had followed some of the same steps as Caesar, but failed. These two legions would prove to be loyal to Octavian for the rest of the period that followed.²⁶

Illyricum or Italy 34–33 BC

Octavian's reputation for ignoring traditional military discipline was something he only gradually realized would have to change.²⁷ An incident that

24 The manner in which the soldiers were selected and executed indicates that this was not a 'typical' decimation as described by Polybius (6.37–38). More likely, however, this execution reflects the realities of service and command in which measures were dependent on contemporary circumstances as opposed to the ideal image of discipline as preserved by Polybius (6.37–9) and Josephus (*BJ* 3.102–8).

25 Brice (2003) 87–92.

26 Keaveney (2007) 85–86.

27 Brice (2011).

occurred during his Illyrian wars demonstrated that he did learn his lesson after the mutinies of 36 BC. After those mutinies Octavian had discharged many thousands of veterans, some with promises of bounties and a few of the most mutinous without any benefits.²⁸ Several years later, after the opening of the wars in Illyricum, a large group of these soldiers who had been discharged without benefits applied to Octavian to reenlist in the army. They sought an opportunity for pay and enrichment (Cass. Dio 49.34–35).

Octavian apparently needed men because he enrolled them as a separate legion despite their mutinous reputation. The enlistment in a separate legion may indicate he expected trouble from them, or that there were many of them and they were previously from the same legion.²⁹ The reconstituted unit remained restive despite the enlistment, although it is not clear in what ways. In response, Octavian attempted to resolve the problem by discharging the superannuated members and settled them in veteran colonies in Gaul, after which he issued warnings to the rest of the men in the legion. The unit remained openly restive, however, forcing Octavian to turn to more brutal methods of imposing discipline. He separated the most disruptive soldiers for punishment, as Antony had done at Brundisium in 44, but this only made the unit mutiny openly (Cass. Dio 49.34).

Octavian then responded with vigor and a show of force. He summoned the mutinous legion to a *contio* where they were surrounded by the rest of the army and then forcibly disarmed. He then discharged the mutineers from the army as a group, presumably without benefits again. In this way, he exhibited the army's support for his authority and traditional disciplinary standards as well as his own resolve to impose and maintain strict discipline within the ranks.³⁰ After their peaceful discharge, the mutiny ended. When some of these same men later appealed to reenlist again, Octavian accepted them and they exhibited no further indiscipline (Cass. Dio 49.34–35).

In resolving this mutiny, Octavian demonstrated an awareness of standard practices for resolving outbreaks of unrest. Indeed, he was remarkably generous. His original reenlistment of the men suggests that manpower needs more than generosity drove his decision. The discharge of the superannuated men with awards of land in colonies was also generous, particularly when these men had already been discharged without rewards following Naulochus. As Dio (49.34.4) notes, it was intended to encourage the rest to return to discipline.

28 Brice (2003) 103–12; Keaveney (2007) 88–90.

29 The identity of the originally discharged unit as well as that of the reconstituted legion remains a mystery, but it is possible that this was Caesar's old legion X.

30 Brice (2011).

Although Octavian did not threaten or engage in a decimation of the legion as he might have, he did remove some of the ringleaders for punishment, confirming that he followed a standard practice of separating the ringleaders and eliminating them. This mutiny is one of the few instances when sources report that a Roman commander engaged an entire army against mutineers.³¹ This broad leniency and his acceptance of the legion's request for restoration after the final collapse of the mutiny points to Octavian's need for men, but also an underlying desire throughout his response to make an unequivocal example to the rest of the army of the acceptable norms of behavior.³² His new practices must have worked since after 30 BC he experienced no further mutinies for the remainder of his life and the commanders serving him also successfully resolved the military unrest that they encountered.

Lower Rhine AD 14

One last set of mutinies demonstrates how another Roman commander tried resolving mutiny, in the process confirming what was required to successfully resolve military unrest. After Augustus' death in AD 14, there were two sets of mutinies, in Pannonia and the Lower Rhine. Resolution of each was successful, but because of the way events on the Lower Rhine progressed it provides a good example of successful as opposed to unsuccessful responses.

Soon after receiving the news of Augustus' death, the four legions camped together in Lower Germany mutinied after several days of relaxed duties.³³ The soldiers were unhappy about their service conditions, especially having their service extended well beyond the sixteen or twenty years for which they had joined and the failure to distribute the cash retirement bonus they had been promised. There were also complaints about pay and centurions (Vell. Pat. 2.124, Suet. *Tib.* 25, Tac. *Ann.* 1.31, Cass. Dio 57.4–5).³⁴ The mutiny escalated quickly among all four legions as a group and climaxed as the soldiers

31 The scale, not the tactic of employing a disciplined unit against an undisciplined one, is unusual. Tacitus' account (*Ann.* 1.45 and 48–9) of Germanicus' response to the continuing mutiny in Lower Germany communicates the extraordinary nature of such a response to mutiny.

32 Brice (2011).

33 The four legions were organized in two groups, legions *I Germanica* and *XX* had as their winter base (*castra hiberna*) *Ara Ubiorum*, while legions *V Alaudae* and *XXI Rapax* used *Castra Vetera* as their winter base.

34 Uncertainty over the death of the emperor may have contributed to general tension, but does not seem to have actually stimulated the unrest, nor does a desire of internal war seem to have been more than empty rhetoric, Brice (2003) 168–70, 185–202; *contra* Alston (2007) 189. See also Woodman (2008); and Salvo (2010).

vented their ferocity on the centurions, some of whom were beaten to death and ejected from camp.³⁵ Once they presented their demands to the local legate they settled down in camp to await the response of Germanicus.

Germanicus was then in Belgica, but he responded without delay as soon as he received a dispatch. On arrival he heard the soldiers' demands and called an assembly (*contio*) during which he demanded the men return to order and made a typical speech about duty, oaths, and the needs of the Empire (Tac. *Ann.* 1.34–35, Cass. Dio 57.5). During his speech, Germanicus apparently tried persuasion instead of threats of executions or discharge.³⁶ When this failed to achieve results, he and his council released the men and formulated a new plan. Abandoning violence, they forged a letter from Tiberius, with promises that could be confirmed later. The next day Germanicus read the letter in assembly promising to discharge superannuated men, require reserve duty for no more than five years, and pay Augustus' bequests to the soldiers (Tac. *Ann.* 1.36, Cass. Dio 57.5). Germanicus did not concede to guarantee payment of the retirement bounty in cash. Although the soldiers must have seen through this charade they accepted the terms, took their new oaths to Tiberius and went into winter quarters at *Castra Vetera* (legions V and XXI) and *Ara Ubiorum* (legions I and XX). Since the men took oaths the mutiny was officially resolved.

Germanicus believed he had been successful without employing any of the traditional tools or steps for restoring order, but as it turned out he had failed to fully restore control over the mutinous legions. He left the legions to settle in and went to inspect the Upper Rhine legions, which had remained disciplined (Tac. *Ann.* 1.37). After Germanicus returned to *Ara Ubiorum* weeks later he learned the legions at *Ara Ubiorum* were tense while those further away at *Castra Vetera* remained restive. The tensions boiled over in October. When a delegation from Rome arrived in *Ara Ubiorum* to bring Germanicus honors, the soldiers of legion I mutinied (Tac. *Ann.* 1.39).³⁷ The soldiers feared that the commissioners were there to cancel the promises Germanicus had made

35 On the centurions see Ward (2012).

36 During the speech he may have been heckled on his loyalty to Tiberius, but this exchange, if it actually happened, was not an issue on which anyone (other than the Roman authors) focused. That has not kept various commentators interested in the literary aspects from commenting. In addition to Brice (2003) 221–22, see also Fulkerson (2008); Woodman (2008); and Salvo (2010) 141–43.

37 The soldiers in camp included legions I and XX and the recently discharged soldiers who remained as reserves (*apud vexillum*). Given that only legion I and the veterans suffered penalties, it seems unlikely that legion XX participated. See Brice (2003) 175–77; Woodman (2008); and Salvo (2010).

during the earlier mutiny. By this time there was news that both legions in *Castra Vetera* had also mutinied. Although the reasons those legions mutinied are not recorded, it was undoubtedly connected with the flawed resolution of the earlier mutiny.

Germanicus' moved to restore order fully this time, starting in *Ara Ubiorum*. He called assembly the next morning, at which he berated the troops for their behavior and sent the delegates away with an armed escort. Concluding that the soldiers remained unsteady, Germanicus sent his wife and children, along with those of his *amici* and officers to a safer venue away from the town and camp (Tac. *Ann.* 1.40.3). The dismissal of his family marked a change in Germanicus' response and resulted in a profound transformation within the camp as the mutineers became penitent and prepared to return to order. Tacitus' emotional narrative aside, the departure of the innocents provided an open sign for the troops that their commander had resolved to employ violence within the camp.³⁸ If some of the troops actually protested (Tac. *Ann.* 1.40–41, Cass. Dio 57.5) or even tried to stop the families from departing, then it was not out of affection for Germanicus' family as much as fear of what would follow.

The parting was followed by another *contio* at which Germanicus vigorously addressed the soldiers. In addition to demanding that they return to order, he offered to review the roll of centurions if they would turn over the troublesome soldiers for punishment. The bulk of soldiers, who remained loyal, seized the men most active in the recent mutiny and brought them to the tribunal where the legate of legion *I*, who Germanicus placed in charge, handled the penalties. Each mutineer was brought before the armed assemblage, which loudly pronounced the verdict by acclamation. In an action reminiscent of decimation, the guilty were thrown to the ground to be killed by their comrades and the innocent were sent to join in the executing (Tac. *Ann.* 1.42). Once the guilty soldiers were eliminated and the units had purged their collective guilt, Germanicus followed up by relocating the veterans to the province of *Raetia*, which had been without a legionary garrison since AD 9 (Tac. *Ann.* 1.42–44). Following renewed issuance of military oaths Germanicus reviewed the centurions, dismissing those deemed by the legionaries' testimony and their officers' judgment to have been rapacious and cruel (a *centurionatum*).³⁹ With this measure, the second mutiny in Lower Germany ended, but Germanicus' restoration of order continued.

38 It is clear from another part of the report (Tac. *Ann.* 1.44.2) that the families were relocated by the time the final *contio* was complete.

39 Brice (2003) 226–28; Salvo (2010); and Ward (2012) 85–86, 137.

The third and final mutiny in Lower Germany was then occurring at *Castra Vetera*.⁴⁰ Germanicus had sent legions *v* and *xxI* with the legate, Aulus Caecina, following resolution of the first mutiny. Since then the legions had become openly mutinous, although sources do not indicate why their restive mood had erupted (*Tac. Ann.* 1.45). Germanicus may have offered legions *v* and *xxI* the same concession he had made to *I* and *xx*—a *centurionatum* in exchange for turning over the ringleaders.⁴¹ Clamorous rejection of this offer was sufficient cause for stronger measures.

Germanicus assembled a large force with which to chastise the mutinous legions and prepared to move against them. Although apparently he had earlier rejected the use of *auxilia* against legionaries, the force he assembled included these units in addition to legions *I* and *xx*.⁴² Before marching the sixty miles, he issued a fierce and threatening ultimatum to Caecina that had the desired effect of pressing him into moving against the mutineers. Armed with the knowledge that Germanicus was on his way with a large force to indiscriminately crush the mutinous legions, Caecina rallied the officers and loyal soldiers to ambush the mutineers. In the violent engagement that followed, the mutineers were killed to a man along with numerous loyal soldiers who died in the struggle (*Tac. Ann.* 1.45–48). It may not have been a formal decimation-like punishment, but it still gave the loyal soldiers a chance to purge their units of the guilty. The level of violence was great, but the result was the same—the mutiny terminated. Germanicus arrived in time to see the aftermath. He mopped up the situation in this camp and issued a new oath to the numerous survivors.

The situation remained unsettled. The loyal soldiers inside the camp at *Castra Vetera* had just participated in a bloody episode that would have raised their level of aggression and agitation. In addition, the soldiers in Germanicus' force had probably raised their expectations and emotional energy as they prepared for battle. As a means of redirecting their aggression and getting the legions away from the violent site, Germanicus launched a sudden, late-season

40 Because Germanicus had issued a *sacramentum* after judging the initial mutiny complete, this later disturbance constituted a new mutiny.

41 The consistency with which Germanicus treats the legions in Lower and Upper Germany, awarding concessions even where not demanded, supports this conclusion, Brice (2003) 179–80.

42 In order to achieve numerical superiority he would have needed a force greater than two legions. The size of the force he assembled may be gathered from Tacitus' report (*Ann.* 1.49.6, 51.5) on the assault across the Rhine. That force included twenty-six cohorts and eight cavalry *alae* of *auxilia* (all of which were untainted by the mutiny) in addition to the four formerly mutinous legions and Germanicus' Praetorians and *Germani*.

invasion across the Rhine. During the vigorous campaign men clamored for a chance to demonstrate their loyalty and courage as they assaulted the local tribes (Tac. *Ann.* 1.50–51). In the ensuing combat units that had been damaged by the punishments had a chance to restore their honor and cohesive bonds.⁴³ With this campaign, Germanicus finally restored military control and order to all the mutinous legions. He continued active campaigning with these same legions for the next several seasons. None of these units mutinied again for the next several decades.

Conclusion

What these case studies demonstrate are commonalities in responses to mutinies. Like Caesar in 49 BC and Octavian in 34 or 33 BC, Germanicus was not able to resolve the mutiny and restore control until he separated the most disaffected men from the rest, punished the ringleaders, and then gave the units a chance to take out their aggression and restore their honor and cohesion in duties or combat. All three parts seem to have been necessary. When Germanicus initially avoided threatening violence and conceded many of the mutineers' demands, his efforts failed. It was not because of political instability that he conceded; he lacked a large enough army to enforce such penalties against four legions, and he may have hoped that reminding men of their oaths would be as successful as it eventually had been for Caesar in 47 BC (Plut. *Caes.* 51, Suet. *Iul.* 70, App. *BCiv.* 2.93).

Antony had also failed. He initially tried haranguing his mutinous men and then resorted to violent punishment, as much out of frustration as anything else. However, like Germanicus' initial response, he had not separated the mutinous men from the rest. Only when those two mutinous legions defected to Octavian did the rest of his legions fall into order and then remained loyal. Germanicus' failures had led to the second set of mutinies along the Rhine. Only then did he adopt practices that Caesar and Octavian had used successfully. His attempts to extend leniency toward the mutineers as well as the extent of the violence he eventually gathered against *Castra Vetera* were reminiscent of Octavian's actions in 34 BC. Germanicus' success in separating the ringleaders was similar to Caesar's efforts at *Placentia*.

There was sufficient institutional experience with mutinies that standard practices for combating and resolving them had emerged. An examination of mutinies at the close of the Republic is an opportunity to demonstrate the

43 Brice (2003) 178–85, 226–30; Salvo (2010); and Zecchini (2010).

standard practices. Roman practice had not usually been to react to mutiny by preparing to engage in combat, as if in a battle. Commanders did not usually attack mutinous units with the rest of the army and threaten the restive units with annihilation, although this too did occur as with Octavian's and Germanicus' strategies. The usual response was to try to separate the ring-leaders or the most indisciplined unit from the rest and then punish them. The standard punishment of units for mutiny was some variant on the *fustuarium* or beating to death. According to Cicero, it was still in effect in 44 (Cic. *Phil.* 3.14).⁴⁴ In the violent punishment of units there was often an element in which the soldiers sought expiation of their guilt, personally and for their unit, either through turning over violators or by participating in the punishment. Chastisement was followed by a re-imposition of discipline usually through a new *sacramentum* for the cleansed units followed often by a military task like a difficult march, campaign, or even a civil engineering project. This pattern of response was as effective in resolving other forms of military unrest and indiscipline as it was for mutinies. Many commanders who successfully employed such solutions may have learned aspects of them through personal experience. 'Standard practices' evolved out of experience, not Roman law or regulations, and as with so much about Rome, were applied irregularly.

This discussion has concluded by demonstrating successful practices for resolving military unrest. It has also tried to demonstrate that there are better ways of analyzing and understanding military unrest. Our toolbox has generally been small and one-dimensional. We can hardly blame historians for previously treating all military unrest as if it was the same—their toolbox for unrest contained only a hammer, so every incident looked like a nail. However, as I have demonstrated, there are some tools available for analyzing military unrest. The tools include definitions, analytical models, and vocabulary that permit us to analyze and discuss mutinies and other forms of military unrest with more precision and authority. What emerges from these interdisciplinary tools is a better and more nuanced understanding of indiscipline and thus some of the human qualities of the soldiers' experience.

The presence of indiscipline and military unrest were not a sign of weakness in the military, but were a typical, if undesirable, part of maintaining a military. Roman commanders' swift and often successful response to mili-

44 While there were some cases in which there was no punishment for mutiny, these usually occurred during internal war and instability, when officers were competing to retain the soldiers' loyalty. This aberrant pattern of resolving mutinies Chrissanthos (2001) identified as so common during instability and internal war that he considered it the norm instead of the aberration. See also Connal (2012) and Coulston (2013).

tary unrest usually restored order and ensured stability. This pattern is why indiscipline typically did not undermine the state during the principate. The mutinies of AD 68 and 92 were exceptions of course, but they actually prove the rule. Military unrest in 68 should not have resulted in Nero's suicide since the commanders outside Rome had actually restored order, but he panicked before receiving that news.⁴⁵ The new emperors who emerged after these two disturbances achieved stability after dealing with the active military unrest and restoring order in the military. Only with the breakdown in commanders' responses to unrest in the third century did the military contribute directly to the extended period of instability in the third century.⁴⁶

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45 Brice (2003) 263–69, 346–66; Connal (2012).

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Training Gladiators: Life in the *Ludus*

Garrett G. Fagan

The gladiatorial training school (*ludus gladiatorum*) is one of the most curious institutions of the Roman empire.¹ Here men were trained to fight, kill, and die for the enjoyment and edification of an audience.² Housed together in what are imagined to be unrelentingly harsh conditions, subjected to a regime of brutal discipline and grueling training, how did they endure? How did they relate to each other? How could they face striding onto the sand amidst the clamor of the crowd to fight and potentially kill an opponent with whom they may have been familiar, with whom they shared living space and had possibly even befriended during training? It is this paradox at the heart of the *ludus*—a community of trained killers who lived and worked together, only to turn their skills on each other—that captures the modern imagination.³

In this paper, I marshal the ancient evidence for life in the gladiatorial training school, drawing on archaeology, epigraphy, and ancient literature, to explore what can be said about conditions there and, in particular, how the trainees themselves interacted and prepared for their day on the sand.

The Physical Environment

In September 2011, a major new archaeological find was announced in the mainstream media: a gladiatorial training school had been located near the amphitheater at Carnuntum, near Vienna in Austria. It was the first of its kind identified outside Italy. The site was discovered using ground-penetrating radar and has yet to be excavated. Initial reports were able to specify forty or more cells, a training arena, a bathhouse, a wooden training post, and an adjacent cemetery.⁴ As we await further details, we are thrown back on the

1 Note Ville (1981) 301–3; Junkelmann (2000) 31–3; Carter (2003); Coleman (2005).

2 On the perceived educational value, see Wistrand (1992) 55–80.

3 For gladiators on film, see Winkler (2004).

4 The find was reported widely by the Associated Press, and at the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute: <http://archpro.lbg.ac.at/press-release/school-gladiators-discovered-roman-carnuntum-austria> (accessed September 10, 2012). For a fuller report, see now Neubauer et al. (2014).

two best-preserved *ludi*, the Ludus Magnus in Rome and the training school (Caserma dei Gladiatori) at Pompeii.

The Ludus Magnus, immediately to the east of the Colosseum between the Via Labicana and the Via di S. Giovanni in Laterano (Fig. 6.1), was one of four such schools opened by Domitian.⁵ The three others are usually identified as the Ludus Dacicus, Ludus Gallicus, and Ludus Matutinus, as named in the Late Antique Regionaries. None of them have been systematically excavated.⁶ In contrast, the Ludus Magnus was excavated in 1937 and again in 1957–1961, and about half of it has been cleared; the rest lies under nearby structures (Fig. 6.1). The school, repaired and modified many times over the centuries, is centered on an arena (62.15m × 41.45m) with a seating capacity of about 3,000, which was used as a training ring where other inmates of the school could watch their colleagues prepare, and (privileged?) members of the public might assess the form of their favorites. Facing onto an open space that ran around the outside of the arena were cells, thirteen per side, on at least two stories, possibly three. Communal areas—a kitchen and an armory—probably lie under adjacent modern buildings to the east (seen in the background of Fig. 6.1). The entrance to the school, narrow and probably heavily guarded, lay in the middle of the north side, off the Via Labicana. Estimating the number of trainees in the school is difficult—if each of 160+ cells housed 4 or 5 men then a population of 1,000 is not impossible, half that if only two men occupied each cell.

The other *ludus gladiatorius* that has been fully explored is the example at Pompeii (Fig. 6.2).⁷ Originally a portico attached to the adjacent theater, in the city's last days it was converted into a gladiator barracks, as graffiti, frescoes and finds of armor in the facility made clear. The plan is simple. The large, open area for training features thirty-two cells opening onto the surrounding colonnade. Each cell is about 4m square and shows signs of having had a second story, or at least mezzanine, and so could house three or four gladiators. A series of rooms on the northeast side (to the left of Fig. 6.2) included a kitchen,

5 On the Ludus Magnus, see Colini and Cozza (1962); Golvin (1988) 149–52; *LTUR* 3.196–7, s.v. “Ludus Magnus” (Pavolini); Richardson (1992) 236–38, s.v.; Coarelli (2001). The *ludus* is also pictured and named on a fragment of the marble map of Rome, see *FUR*, frgs 6 b–f. The Chronographer of 354 (= *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* 9.146) notes the opening of “four training schools” (*ludi IIII*) under Domitian.

6 Ludus Dacicus (*FUR*, frgs 142 and 161); Ludus Gallicus (*CIL* 6.9470); Ludus Matutinus (e.g., *CIL* 6.10172 = *ILS* 5152 = *EAOR* 1.33). A privately owned Ludus Aemilius is mentioned in Horace (*Ars P.* 32) but not securely located in the city. For more on all these structures, see the relevant entries in *LTUR* 3.195–8.

7 On this structure, see Mau (1908) 163–70; De Vos and De Vos (1982) 67–9; Zanker (1998) 46–8; Jacobelli (2003) 66–7; Beard (2008) 269–75.



FIGURE 6.1 *The Ludus Magnus, Rome. View toward east. The cells of the north side are visible at left, the practice arena at right. Photo: S. Tuck.*



FIGURE 6.2 *The gladiatorial barracks (Caserma dei Gladiatori), Pompeii. View toward south. The cells and porticoed training area are clearly visible. Photo: G. Fagan.*

a mess hall, and storerooms, while one of the cells on the opposite, southwest side (at top right of Fig. 6.2) served as a prison (shackles were found here, along with four unfettered skeletons). Above the communal rooms, accessible by steps adjacent to the kitchen, sat an apartment, presumably for the person in charge of the facility. An exedra set into the southeast side (at top center of Fig. 6.2) sported frescoes of Venus and Mars, along with gladiatorial armament and trophies. If we assume a second story of cells on three sides above, the Pompeian *ludus* may have housed 250 gladiators, about a quarter of the number of those in the Ludus Magnus in Rome. In all, some fifteen helmets and shin-guards (*ocreae*), daggers, a lance, a shield, and metal belts were found in the barracks, all in mint condition and showing no signs of wear and tear. These were perhaps parade arms. Some of them were stamped *PMC* or *MCP*, presumably in reference to the trainers (*lanistae*) or owners whose troupe(s) the barracks housed; but the acronyms may also denote the armorers who made the equipment.

Little sense can be gained from the physical remains about how intense the security was at *ludi*. A small room by the main entrance to the Pompeian *ludus* has been identified as a guard-post, but doorkeepers' cells are found adjacent to the entrances of grand houses too. That gladiators could come and go as they wished (as Jacobelli suggests) is also far from clear.⁸ A famous find from the *ludus* at Pompeii is the bejeweled skeleton of a woman—often hailed as real-life Eppia, the senator's wife who runs off with a scarred gladiator in Juvenal's *Satires* (6.82–113)—here caught visiting her paramour in his cell. But, of course, we have no way of knowing what brought this woman to the barracks in the chaos of the eruption—as the seventeen other skeletons found in the same room would tend to suggest.⁹ Also noteworthy is the private house converted in the early first century AD into a gladiatorial barracks. The house was remodeled into a form not unlike the *ludus* just described—cells arranged around a central peristyle courtyard—and was identifiable as a barracks from

8 Two inscriptions concerning the Collegium Silvani Aureliani mention a *cryptarius* (the same man), who was in charge of the subterranean *crypta* in the Ludus Magnus. The functions of *cryptae* varied greatly, so we cannot be sure *cryptarii* were warders; see *CIL* 6.631 = *ILS* 5084 = *EAOR* 1.45 and *CIL* 6.3713 = 31006 = *EAOR* 1.47; Ville (1981) 304, n. 185; Coleman (2005) 8. That gladiators were used as bodyguards for the rich or served in the gangs of toughs who terrorized Rome in the Late Republic implies that they could move about freely, see Lintott (1999) 83–5.

9 Beard (2008) 5.

the hundred or more graffiti identifying gladiators who trained there. It could house about twenty trainees at a time.¹⁰

Such are the physical remains of gladiatorial barracks. Since inferences drawn from the archaeology about life in the *ludus* are ambiguous, what light can the written data thrown on the matter?

The *Familia Gladiatoria*

Literary references to conditions inside training schools are few. Furthermore, it is not immediately obvious what direct experience of such institutions elite authors are likely to have had. They can reasonably be assumed to convey at least widely held popular impressions of what life was like in the *ludus*, as envisioned by members of the privileged classes. Since members of those social strata were the ones who contracted with the training schools for the shows they were sponsoring, it is not hard to imagine how such impressions would form and disseminate. An exception is Galen, a native of Pergamum, who, before moving to Rome and becoming court physician to M. Aurelius, served for almost four years (AD 157–161) as the doctor to a troupe of gladiators owned by five successive Asiarchs, that is, some of the most important and influential men in the province (Gal. *Comp. Med. per Gen.* 3.2 = 13.599–601 Kühn).¹¹ We cannot say, unfortunately, where the gladiators were housed in Pergamum, but that responsibility for the troupe rotated through successive Asiarchs suggests there was a *ludus* somewhere in the city (perhaps located near the amphitheater). Galen's comments on his experiences in this position have to do with how he treated wounds (especially of the legs) rather than the life of the gladiators themselves, although he does note that they often ate barley water mixed with broad beans, which made them fleshy (Gal. *Aliment. Fac.* 1.19 = 6.529 Kühn; also Pliny, *HN* 18.72, Cyprian, *ad Don.* 7). The comments of other writers are allusive rather than descriptive, so we have to read between the lines. For instance, Plutarch (*Crass.* 8.1) notes that Lentulus Batiatus, who ran the Capuan school that gave rise to Spartacus, kept the men there in close confinement—a practice Plutarch labels “unjust.” This statement may be taken to suggest that the norm in gladiatorial schools was not to confine trainees closely. More likely, as in any slave household, a trainee's freedom of movement depended on his rank

10 On this structure see De Vos and De Vos (1982) 217–8; Jacobelli (2003) 65–6; Coleman (2005) 5. See *CIL* 4.4280–4423. One (*CIL* 4.4420) expressly states that a gladiator lived on the premises. The house collapsed into ruins after heavy rains in early November 2010.

11 See also Nutton (1973) 161–4; Mattern (2013) 81–97.

in the school hierarchy (see below). Seneca, in commenting on how mutual dislike leads to a propensity to fight, notes that *non alia quam in ludo gladiatorio vita est cum isdem bibentium pugnantiumque* ("life is the same as in a gladiatorial training school—they eat and fight with the same people," (*Dial.* 4.8.2). Vagueness like this typifies the literary comments on life in the *ludus*. Inscriptions prove more informative.

Prominent individuals could own gladiatorial training schools, most famously Caesar, C. Cato, Milo, or Cicero's friend Atticus (*Cic. Att.* 4.4a.2, *QFr.* 5.4.5; *Caes. BCiv.* 1.14, 3.21, *Pliny HN* 11.144, 245; *Varro Ling.* 9.71). On a less august level there were the Asiarchs at Pergamum or the *familia gladiatoria* owned by one Cn. Arrius Apuleius Aurelianus and his wife, Aurelia Melitene Atticiana, which are commemorated in a series of monuments from Hierapolis in Phrygia, dated to the early third century AD.¹² Arrius was an equestrian (he served as a military tribune) and high priest of the imperial cult, his wife a high priestess of the same. Like the Asiarchs, these were local eminences, members of the local elite. While such people might be owners of gladiators, on-the-ground training was the task of the manager, the *lanista*, who might also be an owner himself.¹³ One of the columns in the peristyle of the Pompeian *ludus* bore the graffito "the gladiator troupe of Pompinius Faustinus," who would appear to be the *lanista* of the place, although another *lanista* (Ampliatius) is mentioned in another text near the entrance to the facility.¹⁴ So it seems that this *ludus* simultaneously housed multiple troupes owned and/or managed by different *lanistae*. The same situation applies to the smaller gladiator barracks, the House of the Gladiators, where graffiti list several owners and/or *lanistae*.¹⁵ Albums of gladiators are also instructive. Two such spoliated lists come from Venusia in Italy. One names the [*f*]amilia gladia[toria] | [*C.*] Salvi Capitonis A. [*f.*] |

12 Ritti and Yilmaz (1998), esp. 448 (no. 1).

13 See *CIL* 4.2508 = Sabbatini Tumolesi (1980) 71–4 (no. 32) = Fora (1996) 128 (no. 57) for Julian or Neronian training schools in or near Capua. It is likely that imperial names for schools became purely honorific, reflecting the connection between the staging of games and the imperial cult, see Meißner (1992) 172–78.

14 For Faustinus, see *CIL* 4.2476 = Sabbatini Tumolesi (1980) 74–5 (no. 33), for Ampliatius, *CIL* 4.1184 = Sabbatini Tumolesi (1980) 68 (no. 31). This is likely the same Ampliatius as Numerius Festius Ampliatius, whose *familia gladiatoria* is advertised in graffiti found elsewhere in Pompeii, see *CIL* 4.1182–4 = Sabbatini Tumolesi (1980) 63–9 (nos. 29–31). See also Sabbatini Tumolesi (1980) 102–4 (no. 74) with discussion at 125–29.

15 See, e.g., *CIL* 4.4284, 4315 (Mesonius, on whom see further Sabbatini Tumolesi [1980] 69–74); *CIL* 4.4288, 4292 (Clodius); *CIL* 4.4297, 4342 (Octavius); or *CIL* 4.4331, 4378 (Cassius).

hic sita (“the troupe of C. Salvius Capito, located here”) and then lists the gladiators according to armature:

Horseman:

Mandatus Rab(irianus), three fights, two crowns

Thracians:

Secundus Pomp(eianus), two fights, two crowns

C(aius) Masonius, seven fights, four crowns

Phileros Dom(itianus), twelve fights, eleven crowns

Optatus Salvi(anus), tiro

C(aius) Alfidius, tiro . . .¹⁶

The other album is acephalous, but the gladiators are listed in similar fashion:

Archer:

Dorus Pis(inianus), six fights, four crowns

Skirmisher:

Mycter Ofil(ianus), two fights

Hoplomachus:

Phaeder Avil(ianus), tiro

Thracians:

Donatus Ner(onianus), twelve fights, seven crowns

Hilario Arr(ianus), seven fights, five crowns . . .¹⁷

Several features of these lists bear comment. First, the gladiators are identified primarily by their style of fighting, which is appropriate for what we know about how they were trained in the *ludi* (see below) and starred in the games.

16 *CIL* 9.465 = *EAOR* 3.67 (the rest of the text is fragmentary). Buonocore, the editor of *EAOR* 3, interprets the first figure as the number of wins each gladiator claims and the second as the number of his crowns, but I follow Sabbatini Tumolesi (1980) 71–4 (no. 32) or 98 (no. 71) reading the first number as denoting total appearances, the second the number of wins. That said, an inscription from Iasos records the statistics of several gladiators by listing their number of wins and crowns, see Robert (1940) 180–81 (no. 178). Naturally, how gladiatorial statistics were recorded and expressed need not have been consistent across time and space.

17 *CIL* 9.466 = *ILS* 5083a = *EAOR* 3.68. This text, in thirty surviving lines, lists twenty gladiators, four of whom are dubbed “Munil(ianus),” two “Arr(ianus),” two “Avil(ianus),” two “Don(atianus),” two “Pis(inianus),” one “Ofil(ianus),” and one “Ner(onianus).” The other six are free volunteers fighting under contract (*auctorati*), listed by their proper names only.

Second, some of them have full Roman names (e.g., C. Masonius, above), which marks them as *auctorati*, volunteer freeborn or ex-slave gladiators.¹⁸ The other (slave) gladiators have single “stage” names, such as “Secundus” (“Lucky”) or “Aquila” (“The Eagle”). The third noteworthy point is that these slave gladiators have other, abbreviated names attached to them as adjectives: “Avil(ianus),” “Salvi(anus),” “Pomp(eianus),” and so on. What do these names indicate? Since they were slaves, the easiest explanation is that they denoted their owners. But a vital clue is provided by Donatus, who is dubbed “Neronianus,” that is, “Donatus, of the Neronian training school,” which we know was located near Capua. Thus the analogous epithets in the other cases also indicated the training school these gladiators came from, or at least the *lanistae* who trained (and owned?) them. If this inference is correct, then Salvius Capito, named in the opening of the first album as the owner of the *familia gladiatoria*, was himself among those *lanistae* who owned and trained a troupe, since one of the Thracians in his album is dubbed “Salvi(anus).”

The *auctorati* do not have such adjectival designations attached to them and are simply listed by their proper names, which is consonant with their non-slave status. They took out their contracts with a *lanista* and, as such, could be numbered among the trainees in a troupe, even if they existed in a different relationship to the *lanista* than the other, slave trainees. That they were especially prized as fighters is suggested by the offhand comment of one of Petronius’ freedmen in the *Satyricon*: *familia non lanisticia, sed plurimi liberti* (“[we’re going to have a great show in a three-day festival;] no *lanista*-trained troupe, but lots of freedmen,” 45.4).

Lanista emerges as a complex term that operated on several levels. It might denote the owner of a troupe of gladiators (e.g., Ampliatus at Pompeii or Capito at Venusia), or their trainer (e.g., the adjectival names), or both (e.g., Capito). Further, an owner could assemble his fighters from several different training schools or *lanistae*. The crucial distinction between ownership and being a *lanista* was the professional engagement of the latter in the gladiator business. The *lanista* made his living primarily from that realm and managed the training of gladiators. This involvement is why social stigma attached to *lanistae*, who ranked alongside actors, pimps, or gladiators as marked by ill-repute (*infamia*).¹⁹ One *lanista* calls himself a “businessman of a gladiatorial troupe” in his epitaph, presumably to evade the stigma of his

18 On *auctorati* see Fagan (2011) 212–13, with reference to earlier treatments.

19 The professional involvement of the *lanista* in running the games is clear from such sources as the S.C. *de pretiis gladiatorum minuendis* (CIL 2.6278 = ILS 5163 = EAOR 7.3), see Carter (2003). On their status, see Juv. *Sat.* 3.153–8; *Lex Julia Municipalis* (CIL 12.593 = ILS

profession.²⁰ No one would call Caesar or Nero *lanistae* for owning a *ludus*; rather their facilities would be run by managers on the ground who would be dubbed *lanistae*. Further, since the *familia* of Capito at Venusia is stated as being *sita (est)*, “located here,” the stone presumably stood inside a *ludus*. Combined with the evidence from the Pompeian school, it shows that while *lanistae* might not necessarily own a *ludus*, they could rent space in one.

Aside from the *lanista*, inscriptions identify several other officials in the *ludus*, collectively dubbed *loudarioi* (“staff of the *ludus*”) in an epitaph from Smyrna.²¹ We have already seen *medici* (doctors) and *cryptarii* (crypt stewards) above.²² Among the most important personnel in the *ludus* were the *doctores* or *magistri* (trainers). These men were often ex-gladiators themselves, such as “Margarites, *essedarius* of the first *palus*, and then a trainer,” (*IGRR* 1.207 = *IGUR* 1.770 = *EAOR* 1.54). The career options for ex-gladiators were probably limited, so putting their expertise to work in the *ludus* would be a natural choice. Other inscriptions make clear that the *doctores* trained their charges by specialty, so that we read of *doctores myrmillonum*, *hoplomachorum*, *secutorum*, *retiariorum*, *Thraecum*, and so on.²³ Thus trainees were coached together by type of armature, as verified by “the entire armature of Thracians” commissioning a gravestone for one of their own.²⁴ The bonds between trainer and trainee could run deep: one *doctor* set up a gravestone for one of his charges: “Aelius Marcion, trainer and first *palus*, made this tomb for well-deserving Anicetus, *provocator spatharius*.”²⁵ The inscription also shows that gladiators were ranked according “post” (*palus*), that is, the wooden post against which they trained in the school. Gladiatorial *pali* stood in a hierarchy, with first *palus* being the most elevated, and so on down the line; gladiators who attained the top rank (*primus palus*) proudly proclaimed this fact in their epitaphs.²⁶ The case of Aelius Marcion also suggests that gladiators of the first rank helped train those lower down the ladder, so that status was tied to experience, and probably also

6085 = *EAOR* 3.1, lines 120–23); S.C. from Larinum (*AE* 1978.145 = *EAOR* 3.2). For full discussion, see Levick (1983).

20 *CIL* 12.727 = *EAOR* 5.10: *M. Iul(ius) Olympus, nego|tiator familiae gla|diatoriae*.

21 Robert (1940), 209 (no. 240) with comments at 285–86, n. 2.

22 Above, p. 126 (Galen) on *cryptarius*, see above, n. 8.

23 E.g., *EAOR* 1.54–62, 2.37–9, 5.13, 7.18.

24 *CIL* 6.10197 = *ILS* 5089 = *EAOR* 1.97: *D(is) M(anibus) | Macedoni Thr(aeci) | tiro(ni) Alexandrin(o) | ben(e) mer(enti)fec(it) | armatura Thraecum | universa...*

25 *CIL* 6.10183 = *ILS* 5110 = *EAOR* 1.59: *Aniceto prov(ocator) sp(athario) | Ael(ius) Marcion do|ctor et primus (palus) b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecit)*.

26 For analysis of the *palus* system, see Carter (2003) 89–98, with citations.

to number of appearances, wins, and general popularity. Gladiators training in the *ludus* who had yet to appear in public were dubbed *tirones*; those who had competed publicly were *veterani*.²⁷

So it seems that in the *ludus* gladiators trained together at their stakes according to armature under the supervision of a specialist instructor and also senior gladiators (where present). In larger *ludi*, it would be possible for different gladiator-types to train simultaneously. In smaller ones, specific days or times of day could be assigned for each group to train. A great advantage of this training method, and of ranking by *palus*, at least from the perspective of the *lanista*, was that it divided the gladiators into rival groups and then, within each group, focused individual fighters' energies on advancing up the hierarchy.²⁸

No doubt perks and privileges attended such advancement—Dio comments that Commodus, who was rated a *secutor* of the first *palus*, lived in the “first house among them [i.e., gladiators], as if he were one of them,” (72.22.2). Seneca refers to *obsceam ludi partem*, (“the loathsome part of the *ludus*,” *NQ* 7.31.3) to which freeborn men might flee to train at arms. He may have had in mind, however, a broad division between that part occupied by the staff and that by the trainees—the latter being the loathsome part, of course.²⁹ One epitaph from Telmessos was dedicated to a dead *retiarius* by his “cell-mates,” and the size of the cells in surviving *ludi* suggests several men per cell.³⁰ The Oxford fragment of Juvenal provides more specific evidence in referring to

prior ergo tuis laribus meliorque lanista, / in cuius numero longe migrare iubetur / psyllus ab ðeupholio?; quid quod nec retia turpi / iunguntur tunicae, nec cella ponit eadem / munimenta umeri ðpulsatamque arma ð tridentem / qui nudus pugnare solet? Pars ultima ludi / accipit has animas aliusque in carcere nervos.

27 *CIL* 6.10197 = *ILS* 5089 = *EAOR* 1.97, a trained Thracian gladiator, but also a *tiro*. See also *CIL* 6.631 = *ILS* 5084 = *EAOR* 1.45, where the men are divided into *decuriae* (cf. Petron. *Sat.* 47.10–13) of veterans and *tirones* and the term for a raw recruit is *novicius*. The veteran-*tiro-novicius* distinction surely reflects status divisions within the *ludus*.

28 Indeed this was the general system of maintaining control in any slave *familia*, whose members stood in a hierarchical relationship to each other, see Bradley (1984) 47–80; idem (1994) esp. 81–106.

29 This notice confirms that *auctorati* did train in *ludi*, but they presumably enjoyed greater freedom of movement than the slave gladiators.

30 *IGRR* 3.541 = *TAM* 2.107 = Robert (1940) 147 (no. 109).

the *lanista*, among whose charges the heavier-armed fighters are ordered to stay away from the lighter ones. Is it not the case that nets are separated from the foul tunic, nor does the one who usually fights naked store in the same cell the arm-guards, arms, and battered trident? The lowest section of the *ludus* receives such souls, and others shackles in the prison (*Sat.* 6.07–13).³¹

The passage is allusive, but it reinforces the conclusion that different types of gladiators—heavier versus lighter-armed, professionals versus those condemned to fight in tunics, for instance—were housed separately and treatment was differential based on status. Aside from improved accommodation, one can easily imagine other favors earned by advancement: better food, freedom of movement, sexual gratification, and so on.

Experience was not the only way to acquire status, as it seems some armatures were deemed more “honorable” than others and implied a status differentiation. Seneca refers to *infame armaturae genus* (“a disgraceful type of armature,” *NQ* 7.31.3) in which *auctorati* might train in the *ludus* (he does not specify which kind he has in mind). Juvenal (*Sat.* 8.203–10) offers a clue: the senator Gracchus fought in the arena as a *retiarius*, not as a *Thraex* or a *murmillo*, and Juvenal strongly implies that this was especially disgraceful. It is significant that of all the gladiatorial armatures known, only the *Thraex* and *murmillo* attracted partisan support among the spectators: *parmularii* (who favored *Thraeces*) and *scutarii* (who favored *murmillones*). It would be reasonable to suppose, therefore, that *Thraeces* and *murmillones* enjoyed elevated status within the *ludi* as well, while *retiarii* were looked down upon. In the Greek east we read of *philoploi* (“lovers of arms”), sometimes supporting specific gladiator troupes over others.³² As we should expect, status in the *ludi* came from a variety of identifiers.

Inscriptions attest other officials attached to *ludi*. A procurator was put in charge of imperially owned troupes, undoubtedly more in the role of manager than day-to-day trainer.³³ Naturally the troupes housed in the *Ludus*

31 The reading in various parts is unclear; I have followed the OCT text of 1959. On the fragment's authenticity, see Griffith (1963).

32 Ville (1981) 443–5; Fagan (2011) 219–21. Greek evidence, Robert (1940) 24–7.

33 See, e.g., *CIL* 5.8659 = *ILS* 1412 = *EAOR* 2.2 (*proc(urator) Aug(usti) ad famil(iam) glad(iatoriam) Transpa(danum)*). An inscription from Cordoba reveals a more wide-ranging procuratorship over imperially owned gladiatorial troupes, [*pro*]c(urator) ad famil(iam) glad(iatoriam) | per Italiam Aemiliam Transpadum | Liguriam Pannonias Dalmatias, see *AE* 2003.93 = *EAOR* 7.4; cf. the more fragmentary *EAOR* 3.3.

Magnus in Rome had procurators and sub-procurators assigned to them. The other *ludi* in Rome were probably managed in the same way.³⁴ Lesser officials can be identified also. A man in charge of the armory (*praepositus armamentario*), an accountant (*dispensator*), and a courier (*cursor*) are known from the Ludus Magnus, while a registrar (*commentariensis*) is attested for the Ludus Matutinus.³⁵ All of these men were slaves or freedmen, and there is no reason to doubt that non-imperial *ludi* had similar personnel working for them too, though the size of the staff would naturally depend on the size of the establishment. Umpires (*summae rudes* and *secundae rudes*), although used primarily only during actual shows, are also found among the staff of *ludi*, as is the case with the imperial freedman P. Aelius Auguzon, commemorated on his tombstone as *sum(ma) rud(is) Ludi M[agni]*.³⁶ Sponsors of games, then, likely leased umpires from the *lanista*, along with the gladiators, beast-hunters, and other personnel, to staff their shows. One wonders if conflicts of interest could arise.

Finally, there were the gladiators themselves. We have already seen that they were housed together in cells, that they were trained together by armature, and that there existed a hierarchy among them based on *palus*-rank. The albums from *ludi* examined above give little indication of this how this ranking played out in practice, but the list of initiates into the *collegium Silvani Aureliani* may offer clues about the organization of the *familia gladiatoria* within the training school.³⁷ The cult of Silvanus was linked to Hercules, Mars, and the army. It is here associated with Commodus, who became Augustus and consul in 177, the year this monument was set up. It is, therefore, reasonable to assume the

34 For *procuratores Ludi Magni*, see the inscriptions assembled under EAOR 1.23–7 and EAOR 3.3. For a *subproc(urator) Ludi Magni*, see CIL 2.1085 = ILS 1406 = ILER 6015 = EAOR 7.5. A third-century sarcophagus from Rome also records a procurator of the Ludus Matutinus, see IGUR 1060 = EAOR 1.22 and EAOR 3.3, 4.

35 CIL 6.10164 = ILS 5153 = EAOR 1.28 (*praepositus armamentario*), CIL 6.10166 = ILS 5154 = EAOR 1.29 (*dispensator*), CIL 10165 = ILS 5127 = EAOR 1.31 (*cursor*), CIL 6.352 = 10746 = EAOR 1.32 (*commentariensis*). Note also the horn-player (*cornic(en)*) or secretary (*cornic(ularius)*); EAOR 1.36) or the anointer and *manica*-maker (*unctor, manicarius*; CIL 6.631 = ILS 5084 = EAOR 1.45).

36 CIL 5.7642 = EAOR 1.49. Note also CIL 6.10170 = ILS 5129 = EAOR 1.51 (*Trophimus, Augusti lib., | secunda rudis familiae gladiatoriae | Caesaris Ludi Magni*). Other imperial freedmen can be assumed to have worked as umpires in one or other of the imperial *ludi* at Rome, e.g., Q. Titius Lathricus described as *secunda rudis Caesarum* (CIL 6.10202 = ILS 5130 = EAOR 1.52). Not all umpires were freedmen, see AE 1939.47 = EAOR 5.12. An inscription from Ancyra makes mention of a *collegium* of *summae rudes* at Rome, see Robert (1940) 138–9 (no. 90). On umpires in general, see Ville (1981) 37–72.

37 CIL 6.631 = ILS 5084 = EAOR 1.45.

gladiators listed were housed in one of the imperial *ludi*, most likely the Ludus Magnus. The initiates are then listed under three *decuriae* of ten men each, and one of two. All those in the first *decuria* are slaves (they have single names), are gladiators (their armatures are specified), and are specified as *vet(erani)*. In the second *decuria* are eight slave gladiators (one *veteranus*, seven *tirones*), a *manicarius* (maker and/or steward of *manicae*, the armored arm-guard worn by some gladiators), and an *unctor* (an annointer/masseur). The third *decuria* has only three gladiators (two *tirones*, and a *novicius*) and five men of uncertain social status who are listed by their names alone, and two who are designated *paganus*. This latter term is notably vague and is taken to mean something like “civilian,” which would imply that they were professionally unconnected to the troupe or the *ludus*, but were still admitted to the *collegium*. The fourth, two-man *decuria* has a *paegniar(ius)*, a pseudo-gladiator who performed mock fights between bouts, and a real gladiator, whose status as a *veteranus*, *tiro*, or *novicius* is not specified.³⁸ This list describes the organization of the *collegium*, but it is not unreasonable to suggest that the groupings into *decuriae* may reflect something of the relative standing of the initiates in their *ludus*, excluding, of course, the civilian members of the *collegium*. We would like to know more about how veterans, *tirones*, and novices were housed, fed, and treated in the *ludus*, but the details remain elusive.

The fullest ancient description of life in the *ludus* is found among the exercises in rhetorical training (*controversiae*) known as Pseudo-Quintilian's *Major Declamations*. Each exercise takes the form of a forensic speech composed for a fictive court case. It is important to realize, then, that we are dealing with pure fiction in these speeches. The purpose of the exercise is not descriptive accuracy but to allow the student (or teacher) to display the appropriate rhetorical skill in making their case. But in this very fact lies the value of these speeches as social-historical sources: for their skill to be effective, the speaker's words must resonate with the expectations and experiences of the audience. If so, then we can safely assume that the rhetoric at least echoes common ancient impressions about life in the *ludus*. (The degree to which those impressions reflect reality is no longer recoverable.)

The legal basis for the “case” behind *Declamatio IX* (often called “The Gladiator”) is the right of a father to disown and renounce his son. The situation that sets up the testing of the law is typically convoluted. A rich man and poor man are enemies, but their sons are close friends. When the rich son is kidnapped by pirates and sold to a *lanista*, he asks his father for ransom.

38 For another *paegniarius* living in the Ludus Magnus, see *CIL* 6.10168 = *ILS* 5126 = *EAOR* 1.79.

Since the rich father drags his heels, the poor son sets out to find his friend and arrives just as he is about to fight in the arena. Offering his person as ransom, the poor son takes his friend's place and is killed. But before doing so, he charges his rich friend with providing for his poor father back home. Upon returning, the rich son begins supporting the poor father to fulfill his promise, but his own father seeks to disown him as a result. The exercise is to compose a speech for the rich son to challenge his father's right to renounce him in court. At various junctures in this speech, the son reveals details of life in the *ludus*.

[5] . . . Among slaves handed over for punishment, the untested gladiator (*tiro gladiator*) is the most scorned and, in order to finally lose my innocence in this catastrophe, I began learning villainy on a daily basis. . . . [21] Pirates usually expect a ransom, but I was in a gladiators' training school. Criminals know no worse punishment than this. In comparison, the slave-jail (*ergastulum*) is a breeze! . . . I was held among temple thieves, arsonists and—what stands as praiseworthy for gladiators—murderers, locked up in a foul jail, in the fetid neglect of the cells. . . . [22] . . . I judge this more a painful thing to bear: to accept the title “gladiator” and submit to a *lanista* as master. I would praise you less, my friend, had you won: would such a spirit have returned to the cramped cell and endured the fattening food, the instructor (*magister*), the role of criminal? For my sake you fought it out in the arena . . . He entered the arena neither a criminal nor down on his luck. . . .

The rhetorical cast of the passage hardly needs stressing. For instance, the speaker assumes that all gladiators were either criminals or desperadoes, when we know that was not the case. The stress laid on their debasement sought to capitalize on the jury's prejudices against men of ill-repute (*infames*) and to highlight the speaker's dire circumstances. Yet such was the allure of performing on the sand that freeborn volunteers did it, and *equites* and senators had to be repeatedly prevented by law from doing so.³⁹ Given the surviving remains of *ludi*, the squalor of the cells, deemed worse than the slave-jail (*ergastulum*), is also likely exaggerated.⁴⁰ In contrast, the references to the fattening diet and training to kill (deemed “villainy” for rhetorical effect) are consonant with what other sources tell us about conditions in *ludi*. All in all, the passage is

39 On such “contract gladiators” (*auctorati*), see above, n. 18. On elite volunteers, note Juv. *Sat.* 2.143–9. For a broader survey, see Ville (1981) 255–62.

40 On *ergastula* and typical slave accommodations in general, see Bradley (1994) 84–7, 101.

useful and evocative, but it cannot be leaned on too heavily for details. Like so much of the literary evidence for life in the *ludus*, it conveys shadowy impressions that more likely reflect elite conceptions than they do the stark reality.

In sum, the *ludus* can be seen as a place of social complexity, with a hierarchical structure of a sort we would expect in any Roman institution. Apart from the distinction between the functionaries serving the needs of the school (many of them freedmen or slaves themselves) and the lowly gladiators training there, there were sharp divisions within the gladiatorial *familia*, based on status as *veteranus*, *tiro*, or *novicius* and on *palus*-rank. It is likely further distinctions applied that are less visible to us at this distance, perhaps stemming from prestige as expert performers, type of armature, or other intangibles—physique, aggressiveness, popularity with the ladies, demonstrated skill, and so on. The question remains: how did the trainees get along, and how did they endure the prospect of fighting each other?

System Justification, Fight Schools, and the Gladiator Ethos

Gladiators from the same *ludus* did fight it out on the sand. Explicit confirmation comes from the graffito advertising games at Pompeii, where upcoming pairings are announced:

Thracian vs Murmillo
 (won) Pugnax, of the Neronian School, 3 fights
 (died) Murranus, of the Neronian School, 3 fights
 Oplomachus vs Thracian
 (won) Cycnus, of the Julian School, 9 fights
 (spared) Atticus, of the Julian School, 14 fights⁴¹

So when Pugnax and Murranus, both gladiators of the Neronian school, met on the sands of Pompeii's amphitheater one day in May in the later first century AD, Murranus lost his life in the encounter. Likewise, when we read that the *familia* of a particular *ludus* put on a show sponsored by their *lanista*, fellow trainees must have fought each other.⁴² Even if fights could also be staged

⁴¹ *CIL* 4.2508 = Sabbatini Tumolesi (1980) 71–4 (no. 32) = Fora (1996) 128 (no. 57). Compare *CIL* 4.1182 = Sabbatini Tumolesi (1980) 63–7 (no. 29) where four pairings of gladiators from the Julian School are documented.

⁴² See, e.g., *CIL* 4.1183 = Sabbatini Tumolesi (1980) 67 (no. 30): *N(umeri) Festi Ampliati | familia gladiatoria pugna(bit) iterum* [...] | ("The gladiatorial troupe of Numerius Festus

between different troupes occupying the same *ludus*, or between competing *ludi*, these texts are clear that fighters from the same troupe were indeed pitted against each other, and that those encounters could be lethal. Although we cannot say how well the opponents knew each other—much depends on the size of the *ludus* in question, how the men were housed there, and so on—it seems likely that some of them would at least be mutually acquainted. How could men endure such uncertainty? How could they live with and potentially kill one another?

As has been stressed by others, several pertinent facts come into play here. Gladiatorial fights were not necessarily to the death, so that fatality was a risk and not an inevitability; most gladiators wore visored helmets, which effaced individuality and encouraged emotional detachment during combat, as did their contrived “stage names”; the excitement of the spectacle itself generated an adrenaline rush that impelled men to fierce combat; the competitive spirit inculcated by the *palus* hierarchy and (as I noted previously) the relative status grades attached to different armatures would encourage them to fight well to secure advancement in the rankings; and the professionalism and fatalism expressed in gladiatorial epitaphs points to their compliance in what they were required to do.⁴³ All of these factors must indeed have played important roles in generating the peculiar ethos of the *ludus* that allowed men who lived together to potentially kill each other when the time came.

I add two further psychological considerations to this list, both of which, I suggest, go deeper than and arguably underlie many of the contextual factors just outlined. First, there is a documentable propensity in people to seek ways to justify and rationalize the social and political worlds they inhabit. This propensity extends even to the downtrodden and the oppressed, who can internalize the value system of their oppressors (but not always, of course).⁴⁴ In the *ludus*, the most obvious reflection of this mindset lies in the “professional pride” exhibited by some gladiators in their epitaphs. Consider this example:

Ampliatius will fight again...). Note also *CIL* 9.2237 = *ILS* 5060 = *EAOR* 3.28 for T. Fabius Severus, who “was the first of all sponsors to provide at his own expense five wild animals from Libya along with the gladiator troupe of the Aarii.” Coleman (2005) 2–3 reasonably concludes that the troupe of Cn. Arrius Apuleius fought and killed each other, as is commemorated in the memorial set up at Hierapolis (see above), where killings are recorded in the reliefs and texts. Note also *CIL* 10.4920 = *EAOR* 8.31 for gladiators from the *familia* of Cassius fighting each other.

43 Coleman (2005) esp. 3–4, 11–19. On gladiator epitaphs, see esp. Hope (2000).

44 In social and political psychology, this line of research is called “system justification.” For an excellent overview, see Jost and Hunyady (2003) and Jost et al., (2009). For the internalization of unequal conditions by the disadvantaged see Jost and Banaji (1994).

Flamma sec(utor) vix(it) an(nis) XXX; | pugna<vi>t XXXIIII, vicit XXI, | stans VIIII, mis(sus) IIII, nat(ione) Syrus; | hui<c> Delicatus coarmio merenti fecit, ("Flamma" ("Flame"), secutor.

He lived 30 years. He fought 34 times, won 21 times, drew (*stans*) 9 times, was spared (*missus*) four times. Syrian by birth. Delicatus ("Pet") made (this tomb) for a worthy comrade-at-arms.⁴⁵

What is really significant here (and in other instances) is not merely that Flamma's fight statistics are recorded, but that they include those occasions when he lost and was spared (*missus*). The assertion is that Flamma's performance in these losing bouts was sufficiently impressive that the sponsor (with the backing of the crowd, no doubt) elected to send him on his way rather than order him killed. It is important that the implicit psychological orientation is that of the spectacle's organizer and the spectators, here endorsed by the gladiators and made a point of professional pride among them—the dedicator is a fellow gladiator. Of course, such inscriptions were only likely to have been put up with the permission of the owner/*lanista*, so we cannot read them as relaying the wholly unmediated voice of the fighters. But such epitaphs do show that the trainees in the *ludus* were inculcated with an ethos of pride-in-performance that would have kept their focus on offering combat to the crowd that was both entertaining and convincing, since doing so would make all the difference in what happened to them if they lost.

In the final analysis, gladiators were showmen. We have little idea what gladiatorial "moves" were like or how they were trained to perform them, but it stands to reason that aside from fighting skill, *doctores* would be sure to offer tips on how to put on a good show.⁴⁶ As Cicero comments:

ut enim athletas nec multo secus gladiatores videmus nihil nec vitando facere caute nec petendo vehementer; in quo non motus hic habeat palaestram quandam, ut quicquid in his rebus fiat utiliter ad pugnam idem ad aspectum etiam sit venustum, sic orator nec plagam gravem facit, nisi petitio fuit apta.

Just as we see athletes, and not much less gladiators, make no motion that lacks adroitness, either when they cautiously parry or thrust aggres-

45 *CIL* 10.7297 = *ILS* 5113 = *EAOR* 3.70: For other examples, see Hope (2000) and Coleman (2005) 14–17.

46 Steven Tuck (2005) has attempted to reconstruct gladiatorial fighting techniques by analysis of medieval "Fight Books" (*Fechtbücher*), see also Carter (2007, 2011) and Fagan (2011) 265–71.

sively, so that whatever happens in the engagements is both useful for the fight *and pleasing to look at*, so the orator does not land a heavy blow, unless the thrust is well-aimed, (Cic. *Orat.* 228).

There was a recognizable choreography to how gladiatorial fights proceeded: the first blow provoked a response, and this led to a second blow, which led on to a third and fourth—the thrusts and parries coming in pairs (Quint. *Inst.* 5.13-54). In praising the skilled gladiator Hermes, Martial comments that he had been “trained to win, not to harm.”⁴⁷ Winning through skill, not raw butchery, is what gladiators sought to offer the crowd who, in turn, expected not chaotic flailing, but skilled combat fought with style, and in a manner pleasing to the eye. The crowd appreciated the skill required to outmaneuver, disarm, or otherwise disable an opponent, forcing an appeal. *Doctores* would surely have played to these conditions. In reliefs or mosaics of gladiatorial fights, signs of showmanship can be detected: arms raised aloft as winners exult over their fallen opponents, “heroic” stances adopted by the winner as the defeated party appeals for his life by raising his finger, umpires forcibly restraining a killing blow while an appeal is decided.⁴⁸ Is it any wonder that many gladiators used evocative “stage names”? Gladiatorial fights were no doubt dangerous and potentially lethal, but ultimately they were shows put on to entertain an informed and discerning public. As such, the professional performers could come, perhaps insensibly, to share the values of the roles imposed on them. From this process would flow many of the features noted above: keenness to compete for rank within the *ludus* by pleasing instructors and the *lanista*, professionalism, rivalry between armatures, beating personal bests and the records of rivals, attaining new status and prestige within the group, and so on. In short, they learned to justify the system they were a part of, and many must have internalized the ethos of the *ludus* as their own.

The second, related psychological consideration pertains to the role of fighting schools in facilitating injurious and even fatal violence.⁴⁹ The sociologist Randall Collins defines violence as pathways around the emotional field of tension and fear that infuses confrontational situations. This tension/

47 Mart. *Ep.* 5.24-7: *Hermes vincere nec ferire doctus*. The incomplete epitaph of the Thracian gladiator M. Antonius Exochus boasts that he caused an opponent to be spared (*missum fecit*)—i.e., he outmaneuvered him in the bout, forcing an appeal, see *CIL* 6.10194 = *ILS* 5088 = *EAOR* 1.92.

48 Note, for instance, the famous gladiatorial mosaic from Zliten in Libya, see Auregemma (1926). On stagecraft in arena spectacles, see Hammer (2010) and Fagan (2011) 234–37.

49 For what follows, see esp. Collins (2008) 39–82 (confrontational tension/fear) and 191–241 (staged fights).

fear inhibits the real infliction of violence, since most people seek to extricate themselves from the confrontation with displays of bravado and bluster. Real violence can only take place, therefore, when confrontational tension/fear is overcome. This can be achieved in several ways, one of which is to stage fights. By embedding fights in a nest of rules and protocols, tension/fear is reduced as the combatants focus attention on matters of legality and etiquette, so that harm or even death can be inflicted, depending on the type of combat involved (consider Mixed Martial Arts, a.k.a. Ultimate Fighting, or dueling). That staged fights often take place before an audience reduces tension/fear still further, as the combatants are encouraged in their aggression by the emotional support and enthusiasm of the crowd (or vice versa—a half-hearted crowd will diminish the intensity of the combat). Membership in a fight school (a boxing club, martial arts or fencing school, for instance) serves these ends, since here the fighters are intensively trained in the rules and etiquette of their chosen form of combat.⁵⁰ It is also important that members of such schools conceive of themselves, and are often perceived by outsiders, as an elite, a caste apart from ordinary mortals—think of the automatic respect accorded a black belt in karate. These factors promote group solidarity within the fight school, strengthen commitment to the form of combat practiced, and encourage members to strive for expertise.

It is not hard to conceive how all of this applied to the gladiatorial *ludus*. It has long been noted that gladiators, despite being officially relegated to the lowest strata of Roman society, were hugely admired by their fans and supporters.⁵¹ They were seen as a fighting elite and were no doubt fully encouraged to think of themselves as such by their *lanista* and *doctores*. Gladiatorial fights had rules (the *lex pugnandi*), the details of which evade us. Clearly, killing an opponent outright was allowed within those rules, but the point is that there *were* rules, and umpires were on hand to enforce them.⁵² Focusing the attention of the trainees on the proper practice of their craft and instilling in them a sense of pride in their efforts, as we saw above, served the interests the owners of schools and the organizers of arena games. The men's energy would be directed down paths both secure and profitable for the managers and sponsors, and although Spartacus' break-out from the Capuan *ludus* stands as

50 Collins (2008) 208 offers the example of the martial arts school, with its hierarchical social structure based on rank and experience, its system of belt colors and titles that make the hierarchy manifest, the special outfits worn by trainers and pupils, and the myriad rules and rituals (e.g., bowing) that demarcate training and fighting bouts from "real" time.

51 See, e.g., Ville (1981) 334–44; Edwards (2007) 68–75.

52 For the *lex pugnandi*, see [Quint.] *Decl.* 9. 9. For umpires, see Ville (1981) 367–72.

a counter-example of what could happen when things broke down, its very uniqueness points to the remarkable success of the system in keeping the trained killers in line.⁵³

We perhaps now have a basis for understanding how it was that gladiators could live with men they might potentially have to kill in the arena. The *ludus* offered them the value system of a select fight-school membership, imbued with an ethos of professional pride in their craft and stressing the elevated status that came with being part of a caste apart learning and practicing an admired skill. Many trainees are likely to have internalized these outlooks. Their energies were focused on the rules of combat and the techniques taught by their expert instructors. The hierarchical structure of the *ludus*' social environment, the division of the trainees according to their veteran or novice status, their type of armature, or their place on the *palus* scale manifested the value system and maintained focus on achievement within it. By these means, confrontational tension/fear was reduced and lethal violence could be unleashed—but within the confines circumscribed by the rules of gladiatorial combat.⁵⁴ And within those confines, killing an opponent was an acceptable outcome. To some extent, this is just a matter of degree. Whereas the risk of death is inherent in many forms of sport spectacle today (motor sports, boxing, even American football), it is not considered a regular part of play. The Romans' historical moment was one of widespread physical suffering and the close proximity of death and loss throughout a person's life cycle, of fatalistic and callous outlooks on life engendered by these conditions, and of ubiquitous slavery that subordinated personhood to function.⁵⁵ Such a context would have inured the Romans to accept the deaths of people deemed expendable by society with equanimity, so that death became just one of the possible outcomes in a gladiatorial fight.

This fact was folded into the ethos of the gladiator training school and became part of the rules and protocols of combat the trainees were inculcated to accept. There is no reason to suppose that gladiators were any less fatalistic or callous than the wider society of which they were a part. In fact, on those rare epitaphs where it is openly acknowledged, we can see the gladiators

53 Tac. *Ann.* 15.46.1; Coleman (2005) 7–8.

54 Caligula was appalled when one member of a defeated team of *retiarii*, after their appeal was denied, turned on the victorious *secutores* and slaughtered them all. "Vicious murder" (*crudelissima caedes*) the emperor branded this wickedness in a proclamation; see Suet. *Cal.* 30.3. Had the slaughter taken place while the fight was still on, it would have been an admirable achievement.

55 For my fuller thoughts on this matter, see Fagan (2011) 22–38.

themselves expressing their acceptance of death in the arena. Most such inscriptions give no indication of how a gladiator died. But some do. In one instance, from Hierapolis in Phrygia, the gladiator Stephanos, crowned victor ten times, was killed κτείνας ἀντίπαλον μεστὸν πικρίας ἀλογίστου, “but killed his opponent, who was full of irrational anger,” (Robert (1940) 155 (no. 124) = Ritti and Yilmaz (1988) 524–6 (no. 20) = *SgO* 02/12/08). Stephanos reports that his opponent had abandoned his skill and training in succumbing to raw anger, a condition Seneca says left the gladiator exposed (Sen. *Dial.* 3.11.1). Stephanos, in making this point, emphasizes his own adherence to the ethos of the *ludus*—focus on technique and skill—over the failure of his fallen opponent to do the same. In the epitaphs of other gladiators killed in the arena, the cause of death is never ascribed to the superior skill of the opponent. Instead, the deceased was deceived by fate, slaughtered by a scoundrel, or abandoned by the gods.⁵⁶ The epitaph of Vitalis, *invictus retiarius* (“unbeaten *retiarius*”) notes that *pariter cum | adversario de[pu|gnav]it; alacer fu[it | p]ugnīs*, (“he fought it out to the end on an equal footing with his opponent; he was fast in his fights,” *CIL* 11.1070 = *ILS* 5118 = *EAOR* 3.46). The wording suggests that, like Stephanos, Vitalis perished in this fight. The stone is dedicated by Himen, “his fellow winner” (*convictor*). We cannot say for sure whether Vitalis and Himen lived in the same *ludus*, but it seems probable that they did: how else would two gladiators get to know each other this well? And it is Vitalis’ display of proper training that Himen stresses in honoring him: he fought to the end and was fast in his moves. The ethos of the *ludus* has come to define both men, and how they wished to be remembered by posterity. Inscriptions like this reveal that, for gladiators, the prospect of death in the arena, possibly at the hands of someone familiar, was an occupational hazard, part of the professional code of behavior that was no doubt instilled into them on a daily basis by their fight-school instructors.

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⁵⁶ For examples, see Coleman (2005) 14–16; Fagan (2011) 216, n. 82.

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Statuenehrungen als Zeugnis für den Einfluss römischer Amtsträger im Leben einer Provinz

Werner Eck

Römische Statthalter waren auch in der Kaiserzeit mächtige Männer. Zwar konnten sie nicht mehr als fast absolute Herrscher auftreten, wie sie es in den Zeiten der Republik weithin zu sein meinten oder wie sie auch nicht selten tatsächlich handelten. Seit Augustus stand, wenn es zu Auseinandersetzungen über das Handeln römischer Amtsträger in den Provinzen kam, neben Gesetzen wie der weiterhin durchaus wirksamen *Lex repetundarum* stets auch der Kaiser im Hintergrund bereit, um einzugreifen, wenn es durch irgendeinen ihm sachlich oder personell ernst erscheinenden Umstand nötig schien. Der Fall des Prokonsuls der Provinz Asia Valerius Messala Volesus, der sich brüstete, an einem Tag 300 Menschen hingerichtet zu haben, und in dessen Verfahren vor dem Senat Augustus mit einem *libellus* Stellung bezogen hatte, zeigt dies schon in den Anfängen des Prinzipats mit aller Deutlichkeit.¹ Dennoch: Es hatte sich nichts daran geändert, dass sie innerhalb ihrer Provinz niemanden neben sich hatten, dessen offizielle mit einem Amt verbundene Gewalt größer gewesen wäre als ihre eigene, sei es die eines Prokonsuls in einer der *provinciae populi Romani* oder eines Legaten bzw. eines Präsidialprokurators in einer *provincia Caesaris*. Seinen klassischen Ausdruck hat diese Tatsache in Ulpians Formulierung gefunden: *Praeses provinciae maius imperium in ea provincia habet omnibus post principem*.²

Die konkrete Macht des Statthalters ging freilich weit über seine amtliche Kompetenz hinaus; denn sie hatte ihre Basis nicht nur in seiner offiziellen *potestas*, sie beruhte auch auf seiner persönlichen Verbindung zum Kaiser, etwa gar wenn dieser ihn zu seinen *amici* zählte,³ auf seiner Stellung allgemein innerhalb der Reichsaristokratie und innerhalb des Senats im Besonderen, schließlich auch auf den Verbindungen, die er entweder über seine Familie oder durch seine Tätigkeit in verschiedenen Teilen des Reiches zu manchen provinzialen

1 Sen. *de ira* 2, 5, 5; Tac. *Ann.* 3.68.1.

2 Dig. 1.18.4 (Ulpian, *libro trigesimo nono ad edictum*).

3 Nicht alle Statthalter waren *amici Caesaris*, auch wenn dies in der Forschung manchmal angenommen wurde.

Gesellschaften hatte. Mit all diesen Beziehungen war Einfluss verschiedenster Art verbunden, der sich jeweils auch während einer aktuellen Statthalterschaft in der einen oder anderen Weise auswirken konnte. Wenn Cornelius Fronto, der Rhetoriklehrer Marc Aurels, für sein Jahr als Prokonsul von Asia Bekannte und Freunde aus verschiedenen Teilen des Reiches: aus Ägypten, aus Kilikien und aus Mauretanien, rekrutieren konnte, dann zeigt dies, wie weit sein Netzwerk über seine Heimatprovinz Africa hinaus gespannt war.⁴ Und es ist gleichzeitig ein Indikator dafür, dass Fronto unabhängig von seiner bevorstehenden Statthalterschaft im Osten für diese Provinzbewohner wichtig geworden war. Denn nur dann ist es verständlich, dass diese Bekannten Frontos die mit der Einladung verbundenen weiten Reisen und die mehr als einjährige Abwesenheit von ihrem Heimatwohnsitz auf sich nahmen. Beispiele für den persönlichen Einfluss eines Senators liefert ebenso Plinius, wenn er für einen ihm in der Provinz Pontus-Bithynia unterstellten Zenturionen einen *libellus*, in dem der Zenturio vom Kaiser eine Verbesserung des *status filiae suae* erbitet, mit einem Begleitschreiben direkt an Traian sandte. Indem er gegenüber Traian durchblicken ließ, dass er den Antrag seines Untergebenen unterstütze, erhöhte er die Chancen für dessen Erfolg.⁵

Die beiden eben angeführten Beispiele stammen aus literarischen Quellen und sie kommen von denen, die solchen Einfluss selbst ausüben konnten. Die andere Seite aber fassen wir meist nur sehr unvollständig. Denn schriftliche Hinterlassenschaften mit individuellen Aussage wie die von Fronto oder Plinius sind uns von den Personen, an denen sich der Einfluss mehr oder minder mächtiger Einzelpersönlichkeiten zeigte, kaum erhalten. Doch es gibt eine recht umfangreiche Quellengruppe, die ihre Ursache in Beziehungen zwischen römischen Statthaltern, aber auch allen anderen provinzialen Amtsträgern bis hinunter zu Tribunen, Zenturionen oder kaiserlichen Freigelassenen, und einzelnen Provinzbewohnern hat: Es sind Inschriften, die unter Statuen oder Porträtbüsten angebracht waren, mit denen solchen in der römischen Administration tätigen Personen gedankt werden sollte. Es gibt sie zu vielen Hunderten, ja Tausenden seit der Zeit der späten Republik bis in die

4 Fronto, *Ep. ad Antoninum Pium* 8 (Van den Hout).

5 Plin. *Ep.* 10.106: *Rogatus, domine, a P. Accio Aquila, centurione cohortis sextae equestris, ut mitterem tibi libellum per quem indulgentiam pro statu filiae suae implorat, durum putavi negare...* Besonders deutlich wird der Einfluss des Statthalters bei den beiden Zegrenserfürsten aus Mauretaniam Tingitana, für die sich der jeweilige Präsidialprokurator in Rom eingesetzt hatte, *Inscriptions Antiques du Maroc* 11 1, 94.

Spätantike, auch wenn sie seit dem späteren 3. Jh. seltener werden.⁶ Viele dieser statuarischen Ehrungen gehen auf Selbstverwaltungsgemeinden oder auch gesamte Provinzen zurück, die mit den römischen Amtsträgern zu tun hatten. Doch auch viele Einzelpersonen nehmen die Kosten auf sich, um Statuen in Marmor oder Bronze von Vertretern der römischen Macht zu errichten und auf der Basis den Namen des Geehrten sowie seine Funktion, manchmal auch deren gesamten *cursus honorum* der Öffentlichkeit zu präsentieren. Stets folgt am Ende der Name des Dedikanten, und oft wird noch ein kurzer, meist sogar sehr kurzer Hinweis auf den Grund gegeben, der die statuarische Ehrung ausgelöst hat. Dass jedoch eine längere und spezifizierte Aussage zu dem Motiv der Ehrung gemacht wird, ist äußerst selten, nicht anders als das auch bei den Ehrungen durch Gemeinden häufig der Fall ist. *Patronus*, εὐεργέτης, seltener auch σωτήρ sind häufige – eher lapidare – Begründungen. Solche kurzen, wenig konkreten Standardmotive sind auch ein Grund dafür, dass man immer wieder meinte, hinter solchen Statuenehrungen stünden oft gar keine konkreten Anlässe. Der Grund sei vielmehr vornehmlich gewesen, einem mehr oder weniger mächtigen Herrn zu schmeicheln und sich dessen Wohlwollen *für die Zukunft* zu erhalten.

Das aber ist wenig wahrscheinlich; denn auch Gemeinden waren in ihren finanziellen Ressourcen beschränkt. Zudem wäre die Zahl derjenigen, die einmal Einfluss auf das persönliche Geschick einzelner Menschen oder ganzer Gemeinden nehmen konnten, endlos gewesen; denn grundsätzlich konnte jeder, der Rom in den Provinzen auf verschiedenen Ebenen vertrat, dazu in der Lage sein. Wen hätte man dann im Vorgriff auf eine unklare Zukunft in dieser Form ehren sollen? Die Wahl wäre schwer gewesen, da man ja nicht wusste, in welcher Situation man sich an wen wenden müsse.⁷

Nach aller Wahrscheinlichkeit geht jeder Ehrenstatue, die für provinziale Amtsträger unterschiedlichen Ranges errichtet wurden, ein sehr konkretes Tun voraus, das ein oder mehrere Provinzbewohner bzw. eine Gemeinde als wichtige Unterstützung ihrer eigenen Interessen angesehen haben.⁸ Das soll im Folgenden etwas detaillierter gezeigt werden. Da jedoch die Zahl der zu Ehrenstatuen gehörigen Texte überall im Reich gewaltig ist, sollen hier zusam-

6 Umfassend dazu Erkelenz (2003).

7 Dass man viele Patrone für eine Gemeinde gewinnen wollte, wie das etwa in Casinum geschehen ist (*CIL* IX 338 = Chelotti et al. (1990) Nr. 35), widerspricht nicht den obigen Ausführungen. Schon die Wahl als *patronus* konnte als Ehrung angesehen werden. Aber in Casinum waren natürlich nicht alle Patrone statuarisch in der Stadt präsent.

8 In diesem Sinn auch schon Erkelenz (2003) 174 ff.

menfassend einige einschlägige Texte untersucht werden, die im beschränkten Raum einer einzigen Provinz bekannt geworden sind, und zwar nicht nur für Statthalter, sondern auch für Funktionsträger mit geringerem sozialen Rang.⁹ Da der Verfasser dieses Beitrags seit langem an der Ausarbeitung des *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae* beteiligt ist, einer Provinz, in der sich die Ehrung einzelner Amtsträger durch Statuen, wie es scheint, erst mit der römischen Herrschaft durchgesetzt hat, soll eben am Inschriftenmaterial dieser Provinz erläutert werden, wie jede statuarische Ehrung römischer Amtsträger ihren Grund in einer konkreten, der Ehrung vorausgegangenen Handlung gehabt hat, auch wenn das in vielen Fällen nicht direkt gesagt wird.¹⁰

Viele der Inschriften, die hier einschlägig sind, geben sich, wie schon betont, nicht als besonders gesprächig. Deshalb soll hier mit einem Text begonnen werden, der in recht klarer und unbezweifelbarer Weise die Umstände deutlich macht, die zu der statuarischen Ehrung führten.¹¹ Der Text steht nicht auf einer ordinären Statuenbasis, auch nicht auf einer Säulenbasis, wie sie in Caesarea Maritima, dem zentralen administrativen Ort der Provinz Iudaea/Syria Palaestina, sehr zahlreich sind,¹² sondern auf einer mächtigen Konsole, die in die Mauer eines Bauwerks eingelassen war. Darauf stand einst die Statue des Geehrten, die damit prominent über das alltägliche Leben der Stadt hinausgehoben war. Diese Form der Präsentation der Statue eines Geehrten auf einer Konsole über dem Getriebe eines Gemeinwesens findet sich besonders zahlreich und eindrucksvoll an den Säulenstraßen von Palmyra, freilich auf deutlich kleineren Konsolen, die dort in die Säulen eingelassen waren.¹³ Die hier behandelte Konsole aber war, wie sich noch heute an den Verfärbungen des Steins erkennen lässt, in eine Mauer eingelassen, ohne dass man aber bisher sagen könnte, um welche Form eines Bauwerks es sich hier gehandelt haben kann.

Warum es überhaupt zu dieser Ehrung kam, demonstriert der Text in außergewöhnlicher Form, und zwar nicht nur durch seine Formulierung, sondern auch durch die optische Gestaltung der Inschrift. Der Text lautet:

9 Siehe nur die 2300 Basen für Kaiserstatuen, die Højte (2005) zusammengestellt hat.

10 Die einzige Personengruppe, für die diese Voraussetzung nicht in jedem Fall zutreffen muss, sind die Kaiser und die Mitglieder ihrer Familie. Bei ihnen können vielerlei andere Motive ins Spiel kommen, zumal bei der Ehrung durch die Selbstverwaltungseinheiten der Provinzen.

11 Cotton and Eck (2001) 226–30 = *CIIP* II 1121–2160.

12 Siehe Eck (2008) 273–93.

13 Tabaczek (2004a), besonders Kap. 5; Tabaczek (2004b) 209ff; Tabaczek (2005) 119ff.

C · IVLIO · COMMODO
 ORFITIANO · LEG · AVGG · PR·
 PR · PROVINC · SYR · PAL
 L · VAL · VALERI · MARTIALIS · P P · FIL
 MARTIALIS · II · VIR · COL · I · FL · AVG · CAES·
 OB · EX SECVNDA · MIL · M·

G(aio) Iulio Commodo | Orfitiano leg(ato) Augg(ustorum) pr(o) | pr(aetore) provinc(iae) Syr(iae) Pal(aestinae) | L(ucius) Val(erius) Valeri Martialis p(rimi)p(ilaris) fil(ius) | Martialis IIvir col(oniae) I (= primae) Fl(aviae) Aug(ustae) Caes(ariensis) | ob ex secunda mil(itia) m(erita).

Ein Mitglied einer führenden Familie der colonia Prima Flavia Augusta Caesariensis, Lucius Valerius Martialis, lässt für den kaiserlichen Statthalter der Provinz Gaius Iulius Commodus Orfitianus eine Statue errichten. Commodus Orfitianus war im Jahr 157 Konsul geworden¹⁴ und hatte kurz nach dem Jahr 161 die Leitung der Provinz Syria Palaestina übertragen erhalten. Der gleichnamige Vater des Valerius Martialis hatte im römischen Heer gedient und war als *primipilaris* ausgeschieden. Der Sohn war Mitglied des Dekurionenrats der Kolonie geworden und hatte das Amt eines Duumvirn bekleidet. Das wird, wie es ganz üblich war, zur Charakterisierung des Dedikanten und seiner Stellung in der Öffentlichkeit der Gemeinde angeführt. Am Ende steht dann eine formelhafte Wendung, warum der Statthalter durch den Bürger von Caesarea geehrt wurde: *Ob m(erita)* = „wegen der Verdienste (des Statthalters)“. Darunter könnte man sich manches vorstellen, doch Valerius Martialis ließ es nicht bei diesem in vielen anderen Inschriften pauschalen Hinweis auf die Verdienste des kaiserlichen Legaten um ihn bewenden. Denn zwischen die zwei Worte der Formel *ob m(erita)* setzt er hinzu: *ex secunda mil(itia)*. Er hatte die zweite ritterliche *militia*, nach aller Wahrscheinlichkeit einen Militärtribunat bei der *legio X Fretensis* oder der *legio VI Ferrata*, einer der beiden Legionen der Provinz, absolviert. Diese Tribunate aber wurden vom Statthalter vergeben.¹⁵ Indem dieser Hinweis auf den Militärtribunat zwischen die Standardformel *ob merita* gesetzt wurde, betonte der Dedikant, was er dem Statthalter verdankte und weshalb er ihm mit diesem statuarischen Monument dankte.

Dass diese Form, betont auf das konkrete Verdienst einer mächtigen Persönlichkeit hinzuweisen, kein Zufall war, zeigt eine weitere, freilich nur

14 CIL XVI 106, cf. RMD III p. 246; RMD III 170. IV 275; RGZM 37. 38; cf. RMD II 104.

15 Theoretisch wäre natürlich denkbar, dass der Statthalter dem Valerius Martialis diese Möglichkeit in einer anderen Provinz durch seine Vermittlung beschafft hatte.

fragmentarisch erhaltene Inschrift ebenfalls aus Caesarea. Sie steht in diesem Fall auf einer Marmorplatte, die vermutlich einer gemauerten Statuenbasis vorgeblendet war. Vom Text ist Folgendes erhalten:¹⁶

[–]
 IVRID PER V[–]
 AVG·PR PR·PR[–]
 AEDIVM·SACR[–]
 PROVINC·SYR[–]
 C·CLODIVS·ROM[–]
 O EX·EQ·O/C[–]

[–] | *iurid(ico) per U[mbriam –, leg(ato)] | Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) pr[ov(inciae) –, curat(ori)] | aedium sacr[ar(um), leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)] | provinc(iae) Syr[iae Palaestinae] | G(aius) Clodius Rom[anus?] | o(b) ex eq(uite) o[r(dinatus)¹⁷ (centurio) oder: c[ent(urio) ordinatus m(erita)]*.

Wieder wird ein Senator geehrt, der als Statthalter von Syria Palaestina amtiert hatte. Der Dedikant ist der Ritter Gaius Clodius Rom[anus?], von dem nicht gesagt wird, dass er in irgendeiner Form mit der Kolonie Caesarea verbunden war. Er war ritterlichen Ranges gewesen, hatte aber dann von dem für uns namenlosen kaiserlichen Legaten im Heer vermutlich den Posten eines *centurio* erhalten. Dieses Faktum wird wiederum auf gleiche Weise wie schon bei Valerius Martialis optisch in der letzten Zeile der Inschrift herausgestellt, indem die Folge des Handelns des Legaten zwischen die Formel *o(b) m(erita)* gesetzt wird. Wer die „Erklärung“ unter der Statue las, sollte unmittelbar verstehen, wodurch sich der Geehrte gegenüber dem Dedikanten verdient gemacht hatte. Er brauchte nicht darüber zu rätseln, was geschehen war.

Noch ein drittes Mal scheint diese auffällige Form der Herausstellung der Verdienste unter einer statuarischen Repräsentation eines hohen Funktionsträgers in Caesarea bezeugt zu sein.¹⁸ Dieser Text steht auf einer fast eineinhalb Meter hohen Säulenbasis, wie sie in Caesarea äußerst häufig

16 Cotton und Eck (2001) 223 ff. = *CIIP* II 1238.

17 In *AE* 2003, 1802 wird u.a. vorgeschlagen in der letzten Zeile *ex eq(uestribus) [militiis]* zu ergänzen. Doch ist diese Formel bisher nirgendwo bezeugt, so dass es sich verbietet, hier eine unbekannte Formel einzusetzen. Bezeugt ist *omnibus equestribus militiis functus* oder *perfunctus*.

18 *CIIP* II 1295.

sind. Allerdings wurde der Text bei einer Wiederverwendung der Basis für die Ehrung einer anderen Person weitgehend eradiert, so dass nur spärliche Reste des ursprünglichen Textes noch entzifferbar waren, darunter auch das hier entscheidende Wort am Anfang der letzten Zeile:

[[A++[-]]]
 [[PROC++[-]]]
 [[IAGQ+[-]]]
 [[IEG++[-]]]
 [[IM++[-]]]
 [[II+R+[-]]]
 [[OL++[-]]]
 [[OB++[-]]]

[[A ++[-] | *proc(uratori)* | *Aug(usti)* -] | *IAGQ*+[-] | *IEG*++[-] | *IM*++[-] |
II+R+[-] | *OL*++[-] | *ob* ++[- *m(erita)*]].

Erkennbar ist gerade noch, dass hier ein ritterlicher Prokurator geehrt wurde, was in Caesarea mit allergrößter Wahrscheinlichkeit bedeutet, dass dieser als Fiskalprokurator tätig gewesen war. Wer ihn aus Dankbarkeit geehrt hat, bleibt unklar, ebenso das konkrete Verdienst, doch wird in der letzten Zeile aus der Länge des eradierten Textes klar, dass auch hier auf das am Anfang der Zeile stehende Wort *ob* nicht unmittelbar der zweite Teil der Formel: *m(erita)* gefolgt sein kann, vielmehr noch eine weitere Aussage zwischen beide Worte gesetzt worden ist, also wohl mit derselben Absicht und demselben Effekt wie in den zwei vorausgehenden Inschriften.¹⁹

Ein gleicher Inhalt konnte auch auf andere Weise bekannt gemacht werden. Von einer recht fragmentarischen Inschrift ist Folgendes erhalten geblieben:²⁰

[-]*ro/co* | [*leg(ato)* | *Aug(usti)*] *pro pr(aetore)* | [?*provi*] *nc(iae)* | [-] *ius*
Flavian(us) | [*si*] *g(nifer)* *legionis* *X Fr(e)t(ensis)* | [*pr*] *o sing(ularibus)* *eius*
 | [*mer*] *itis h(onoris)* *c(ausa)*

Erneut handelt es sich um die Ehrung eines Statthalters der Provinz, dem ein *signifer* der in Jerusalem stationierten legio x Fretensis in Caesarea eine Statue errichtete, vermutlich innerhalb von dessen administrativem Sitz,

19 Die drei Beispiele gehören zu dem Ensemble lokaler Praktiken, in epigraphischen Texten etwas Spezifisches in kurzer Form deutlich zu machen.

20 *CIIP* II 1235.

dem Praetorium. Denn das Fragment wurde nahe dem Theater von Caesarea gefunden, also direkt südlich des Praetoriums. Hier werden die *merita* sogar als *singularia* bezeichnet, ohne dass freilich näher ausgeführt wird, worin sie bestanden haben. Doch ist es leicht vorstellbar, dass er durch den Statthalter direkt oder durch dessen Vermittlung die Stellung des *signifer* bei der Legion erhalten hatte.²¹ Gerade solche *merita* sind wohl häufig der Grund gewesen, weshalb einzelne Mitglieder des Heeres oder des administrativen Stabs einzelner Amtsträger sich bei ihren Vorgesetzten für ein konkretes Vorwärtskommen innerhalb der Legion oder innerhalb der Hierarchie der Administration bedankten.²² Andere Zeugnisse aus Caesarea und anderen Orten der Provinz könnten dies zeigen.²³

In einen ganz anderen Bereich der Beziehungen zwischen einem römischen Amtsträger in der Provinz und einem Mitglied der städtischen Führungsschicht von Caesarea führt folgende Inschrift, die erneut auf einer der für die Stadt so charakteristischen Säulenbasen eingemeißelt ist.²⁴

*D(ecimo) Seio D(ecimi) fil(io) Quir(ina) Senecae | leg(ato) Aug(usti) pro
pr(aetore) provinc(iae) | Syriae Palaest(inae) | mandatu | Sex(ti) Corneli
Quirina | Taurini (duum)viral(is) | Cornel[[ius Quintianus]] | filiu[[s [-]]].*

Decimus Seius Seneca war Statthalter von Syria Palaestina von ca. 155–157.²⁵ In dieser Zeit muss es zwischen Sextus Cornelius Taurinus, dessen Rang durch den Verweis auf sein in Caesarea abgeleistetes höchstes ziviles Amt, das eines Duumvirn, gekennzeichnet wird, und dem Statthalter zu einer näheren Beziehung gekommen sein. Auffällig ist, dass er die Ehrung nicht selbst durchgeführt hat, vielmehr diese Aufgabe *mandatu* seinem Sohn übertragen hat. Ein solcher Auftrag konnte zu Lebzeiten des Auftraggebers von einem anderen durchgeführt werden, ebenso jedoch auch nach dessen Tod. Vielleicht liegt dieser Grund auch hier vor. Doch gerade wenn die Ehrung durch testamentarische Anweisung des Vaters erfolgte, kann dessen Absicht nicht darauf gezielt

21 Man vergleiche dazu etwa Şahin (1999), I Nr. 156 = Eck (2000) 251 ff. = AE 2000, 1453: ... [- de]curio coho[rtis I Fla]viae [equit(atae) Numidarum ob m]erita quod su[ffragio eius a sacra]tissimo ac [indulgentiss(imo)?] Imp(eratore) M(arco) A[ntonino] A[ugusto] promotio[nem(?) c]onsecutus s[it - ex c]ornic[ulario eius].

22 Vgl. z. B. CIIP II 1284 und 1287. Ebenso CIIP I 2, 721 (Jerusalem).

23 Siehe z.B. aus Jerusalem CIIP I 721: M(arco) Iunio | Maximo | leg(ato) Augg(ustorum) | leg(ionis) x Fr(etensis) Antoninianae | G(aius) Dom(itius) Serg(ia tribu) Iul(ius) Honoratus | str(ator) eius. CIIP II 1231; dazu Eck (2012) 69ff.

24 CIIP II 1269.

25 CIIP II 1269; RMD V 421; Eck und Pangerl (2007) 286.

haben, sich den mächtigen römischen Senator für die Zukunft gewogen zu machen. Es muss vielmehr ein Faktum, ein Verdienst von Seiten des Senators gewesen sein, das für Cornelius Taurinus schon manifest geworden war. Die Ehrung veranlasste der Vater für das, wofür der Statthalter nach seiner Ansicht Dank verdiente, für den Sohn mochte sich diese Haltung des Vaters freilich in der Zukunft auszahlen.

Die bisher erörterten Exempla betreffen alle die Spitzen der provinziellen Administration, Statthalter oder Finanzprokuratoren. Doch so sehr auch in ihren Händen die höchste staatliche Macht innerhalb der Provinz lag, sie war dort nicht konzentriert, vielmehr war sie auf viele Personen verteilt und oft in den Händen dessen am wirksamsten, der am leichtesten zu erreichen war. Gerade aus den Papyri Ägyptens ist der unmittelbare Einfluss von Zenturionen bekannt, an die sich die lokale Bevölkerung wandte, weil sie unmittelbar erreichbar waren.²⁶ In anderen Provinzen war dies nicht anders, obwohl das Phänomen nicht sehr oft bezeugt ist.²⁷ Doch ein Text aus Ascelon im südlichen Teil der Provinz Syria Palaestina weist einen Text auf, der einen solchen Zusammenhang deutlich macht.²⁸

Die Inschrift steht auf einer nicht sehr großen Marmorplatte, die einer gemauerten Basis vorgeblendet war, und folgenden einfachen Text trägt:

Η ΒΟΥΛΗ
ΚΑΙ Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ ΩΛΟΝ
ΙΝΣΤΟΛΗΙΟΝ ΤΕΝΑΚΑ
ΕΚΑΤΟΝΤΑΡΧΗΝ
ΛΕΓΕΩΝΟΣ ΔΕΚΑΤΗΣ
ΦΡΕΤΗΝΣΙΑΣ ΕΥΝΟΙΑΣ
ΕΝΕΚΑ.

ή βουλή{ι} | καὶ ὁ δῆμος Ὡλον | Ἰνστολήιον Τένακα | ἑκατοντάρχη | λεγεῶνος
δεκάτης | Φρετηνσίας εὐνοίας| ἔνεκα.

Der Inhalt ist sehr einfach. Rat und Volk von Ascelon ehren einen Zenturionen der *legio x Fretensis* wegen seines Wohlwollens, das er gegenüber der Stadt gezeigt hatte. Die relative Kleinheit der Tafel – sie misst nur 21 × 21 cm – lässt vermuten, dass sie am ehesten unter einer Büste des Geehrten angebracht war, vielleicht innerhalb eines öffentlichen Gebäudes aufgestellt. Doch ist auch

26 Siehe zum Einfluss von *beneficiarii* Merola (2012) 114ff.

27 Siehe z.B. *IGLSyr* VII 4015; *AE* 1947, 172; 1950, 185.

28 *AE* 1923, 83 = *SEG* 1, 552 = *BE* 1924, p. 358.

eine Statue normaler Größe nicht ausgeschlossen. Wie aber ist der *centurio* mit der Stadt in Verbindung gekommen, so dass sich daraus Anlässe ergaben, bei denen der römische Offizier sein Wohlwollen gegenüber der Stadt beweisen konnte?

Bisher hat man die Inschrift mit dem Krieg zwischen Juden und Römern in den Jahren 66–70 n. Chr. in Verbindung gebracht bzw. mit der Zeit unmittelbar danach. Denn seit der Eroberung Jerusalems und der Einrichtung einer selbständigen Provinz Iudaea durch Vespasian im Jahr 70 war die *legio x Fretensis* die Besatzungslegion der Provinz,²⁹ womit es nicht mehr auffällig ist, wenn ein *centurio* dieser Einheit mit den Bewohnern von Ascelon in Verbindung getreten ist. Denn vor dem genannten Krieg war die Legion in der Provinz Syrien stationiert, weshalb es nicht denkbar war, dass Instuleius Tenax, so die allgemeine Annahme, schon damals sich in Ascelon aufgehalten hat, so dass daraus eine Beziehung zu der Gemeinde entstanden sein konnte.³⁰

Störend war dabei freilich, dass der Offizier noch aus einem weiteren Dokument bekannt war. Denn er hat auf dem Memnonkoloss bei Theben in Ägypten eine Besucherinschrift hinterlassen, aus der hervorgeht, dass er zusammen mit zwei weiteren Offizieren die singende Statue besucht habe, und zwar am 16. März des Jahres 65 n. Chr.³¹ Das Entscheidende ist aber, dass er sich in diesem Text als *primipilaris leg(ionis) XII Fulminatae* bezeichnet, also als höchsten *centurio* einer anderen Legion, die bis zum Jahr 70 ebenfalls zu der Armee der Provinz Syrien gehört hatte. Dass er mit der aus der Inschrift von Ascelon bekannten Person identisch ist, kann nicht zweifelhaft sein; denn während das Cognomen Tenax öfter bezeugt ist, kennen wir das Gentilnomen Instuleius – abgesehen von dem Text in Ascelon – nur aus der Memnoninschrift sowie einem Dipinto aus Pompeii, in dem es sich offensichtlich um einen Freigelassenen handelt, der dieses Gentile trug.³² In Verbindung mit dem Praenomen Aulus erscheint die Identität der beiden Personen deshalb zwingend.³³

29 Dąbrowa (1993).

30 Isaac (1993) 136; Erkelenz (2003) 306 Nr. 1219 datiert allgemein zwischen 54 und 68, hält also ebenfalls eine Anwesenheit nach dem Jahr 65 noch für möglich.

31 *CIL* III 30 = Dessau 8759a = A. und E. Bernand (1960) Nr. 2: *A(ulus) Instuleius Tenax primipilaris leg(ionis) XII Fulminatae et C(aius) Valerius Priscus (centurio) leg(ionis) XXII et L(ucius) Quintius Viator decurio audimus Memnon[em] anno XI Neronis Imp(eratoris) n(ostr)i XVII K(alendas) April(es) h[ora] –*].

32 *CIL* IV 3376; vgl. *CIL* IV Suppl. 4, 1, p. 1351 f.

33 So auch bei Dobson (1978) 196 f., der allerdings keine näheren Angaben zur Datierung macht.

Das aber führt dann zu der ebenfalls zwingenden Schlussfolgerung, dass die Inschrift in Ascelon und damit der dortige Aufenthalt des Instuleius Tenax *vor das Jahr 65* zu datieren ist. Denn ein Mann, der in seiner Selbstaussage auf dem Memnonkoloss genau vermerkt, er sei nicht nur allgemein ein Offizier der *legio XII Fulminata*, sondern ein *primipilaris* dieser Legion, der legte auch in Ascelon Wert darauf, dass sein Rang genau wiedergegeben wurde, wenn man ihn denn schon ehren wollte. Da er aber in dem Text aus Ascelon nur *ἐκατοντάρχης*, also schlicht *centurio* genannt wird, konnte er zum Zeitpunkt, als diese Inschrift abgefasst wurde, noch nicht den Rang eines *primus pilus* erreicht haben. Die Inschrift stammt damit aus einer früheren Phase seiner Laufbahn, vor dem Jahr 65.³⁴

Bei der bisherigen Interpretation war man, ohne dies weiter auszuführen, davon ausgegangen, Iudaea sei seit dem Jahr 44 n. Chr. eine sogenannte prokuratorische Provinz gewesen, also im Wesentlichen unabhängig von Syrien; deshalb sah man offensichtlich zusätzliche Schwierigkeiten, den Offizier einer in Syrien stationierten Legion in Iudaea anzutreffen. Doch nach aller Wahrscheinlichkeit war Iudaea auch nach dem Jahr 44 keine eigene Provinz, sondern weiterhin ein Teil von Syrien, dessen Statthalter auch für alle wichtigeren Fragen neben den sonstigen römischen Amtsträgern im südlichen Teil seiner Provinz, eben in Iudaea, verantwortlich war.³⁵ Diese sonstigen römischen Funktionsträger waren zum einen der in Caesarea residierende *praefectus Iudaeae*, zum andern ein *procurator*, der für den großen Domänenbesitz um Iamnia im Süden der Provinz zuständig war. Wir kennen einen C. Herennius Capito als ritterlichen Prokurator dieser Domänen unter Caligula aus Philo und Josephus, ebenso durch eine Inschrift aus Teate Marrucinum in Mittelitalien.³⁶ Diesem Prokurator aber standen Soldaten zur Verfügung, die er z.B. gegen Agrippa, der später wieder den Königstitel erhielt, wegen Zahlungsrückständen eingesetzt hat.³⁷ Von diesen Soldaten ist nicht bekannt, aus welchen Einheiten sie zum Prokurator abkommandiert waren. Doch gerade aus der Inschrift aus Teate Marrucinum erfahren wir, dass mindestens ein Teil aus den Legionen der Provinz, eben Syriens, genommen worden waren. Denn Herennius Capito dedizierte in seiner Heimat eine Statue oder Büste des Tiberius *ex testamento M(arci) Pulfenni Sex(ti) fl(ili)*

34 Siehe Dąbrowa (1993) 86 no. 19. Er meint allerdings, die Heimat dieses Zenturionen sei eben die Polis Ascelon gewesen – was in dieser Zeit ausgeschlossen erscheint.

35 Zuletzt ausführlich Eck (2007) 24 ff.; Labbé (2012) 292 ff.

36 *PIR*² H 103.

37 Iosephus, *AJ.* 18, 158.

Arn(ensi) (centurionis) leg(ionis) VI Ferr(atae).³⁸ Die dortige Dedikation ging also auf das Testament eines M. Pulfennius zurück, der als *centurio legionis VI Ferratae* bezeichnet wird. Wenn aber Herennius im Testament des inzwischen verstorbenen Marcus Pulfennius als derjenige angeführt war, der den letzten Willen des Verstorbenen ausführen sollte, dann liegt es sehr nahe, dies darauf zurückzuführen, dass Pulfennius zum Stab des Herennius gehörte und dabei vermutlich der Leiter des Stabes war.

Damit aber hat man mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit das Modell, mit dem man auch die Anwesenheit des Aulus Instuleius Tenax in Ascelon erklären kann. Die Domänenprokuratur existierte, wie man kaum anders erwarten kann, kontinuierlich seit dem Tod Livias, die zuvor die Eigentümerin der Domäne war, zumindest bis zu dem Zeitpunkt, als unter Vespasian ein eigener Finanzprokurator für Iudaea eingesetzt wurde. Sie wurde sicher nicht durch das Intermezzo des Königtums von Agrippa I. zwischen 41 und 44 abgeschafft, da dieses Gebiet als *patrimonium Caesaris* ihm natürlich nicht zurückgegeben wurde. Mit dem Prokurator aber blieb auch sein Stab, den er, soweit er aus Soldaten bestand, weiterhin aus den Truppen der Provinz erhielt, in der auch die von ihm verwalteten Domänen lagen, also aus Einheiten wie der *legio x Fretensis* oder der *VI Ferrata*, die sämtlich im Norden der Provinz stationiert waren.

Geht man von diesem Szenario aus, dann verschwinden die Schwierigkeiten, die man bisher mit der Laufbahn des Aulus Instuleius Tenax hatte. Er kann vor dem Jahr 65 als normaler *centurio* der *legio x Fretensis* zu dem Domänenprokurator abgeordnet worden sein. Entweder kehrte er nach einiger Zeit zunächst wieder zu seiner Einheit zurück, um von dort aus sodann zur *XII Fulminata*, die ebenfalls zur Besatzung der Provinz gehörte, versetzt und bei ihr *primus pilus* zu werden. Warum er sodann nach Ägypten gesandt wurde, wo er den Memnonkoloss besuchte, wissen wir nicht. Jedenfalls lässt sich sein Aufenthalt in Iudaea längere Zeit vor dem Jahr 65 n. Chr. sachlich bestens erklären. Aus der Konstellation innerhalb der *praefectura Iudaeae* heraus spricht vieles dafür, dass Instuleius als leitender Offizier zum Stab des Domänenprokurators gehörte, so wie Marcus Pulfennius zu dem des

38 AE 1941, 105 = AE 1947, 39: *Ti(berio) Caesari divi Aug(usti) filio Augusto pontif(ici) maximo, trib(unicia) potest(ate) XXXVIII, co(n)s(uli) V ex testamento M(arci) Pulfenni Sex(ti) filii Arn(ensi) (centurionis) leg(ionis) VI Ferr(atae) C(aius) Herennius [–] Arn(ensi) Capito trib(unus) milit(um) III, praef(ectus) alae, praef(ectus) veteranorum, proc(urator) Iuliae Augustae, proc(urator) Ti(beri) Caesaris Aug(usti), proc(urator) C(ai) Caesaris Aug(usti) Germanici, arg(enti) (quincunx) p(ondo) x.*

Prokurators Herennius Capito. Ascelon liegt rund 30 km südlich von Iamnia, das offensichtlich das Zentrum der kaiserlichen Domäne war. Wie weit diese sich nach Süden erstreckte, ist nicht bekannt; immerhin ist wichtig, dass Herennius Capito auch in Anthedon, das sogar noch südlich von Ascelon liegt, seine Soldaten gegen Agrippa einsetzen konnte.³⁹ Als Salome, Herodes' Schwester, im Jahr 4 v. Chr. nach dem Tod ihres Bruders diese wertvolle Domäne erbte, hatte Augustus ihrem Anteil noch den Königspalast des Herodes in Ascelon hinzugefügt.⁴⁰ Als Salome per Testament die Domäne an Livia vererbte, dürfte der Palast Teil des Erbes gewesen sein; alles andere wäre höchst überraschend. Damit aber hatte der Domänenprokurator offensichtlich auch in Ascelon etwas zu sagen – und mit ihm auch sein Stab und ein *centurio*, der zu diesem Stab gehörte.

Das so entwickelte Szenario ist notwendigerweise hypothetisch; doch passen die Elemente sachlich und zeitlich zusammen. Damit aber kann man für Aulus Instuleius Tenax einen realistischen Kontext für seine Beziehungen mit Ascelon herstellen. In einer so verstandenen Konstellation ist es dann nicht schwer, dass er sich im Interesse der Stadt oder eines größeren Teil der führenden Familien eingesetzt hat, vielleicht sogar gegenüber seinem Vorgesetzten, dem Domänenprokurator.⁴¹ Die Stadt hat auf diese Hilfe von Seiten des Zenturionen in der üblichen Weise reagiert, indem man sein Bildnis irgendwo im öffentlichen Raum aufstellte, vielleicht sogar im ehemaligen Palast des Herodes.⁴²

Mit einem Zenturionen der römischen Armee ist eine wesentlich niedrigere Ebene von Funktionsträgern erreicht, die dennoch im provinziellen Rahmen Einfluss ausüben konnten, worauf eine Stadt wie Ascelon in gleicher Weise ihren Dank öffentlich abstattete wie das gegenüber den hohen Repräsentanten Roms in Caesarea geschehen ist. Instuleius Tenax gehörte wohl zum Stab des Prokurators, der für die Domänen verantwortlich war. Zu seinem Stab gehörten wie bei allen Prokuratoren daneben auch kaiserliche Freigelassene und Sklaven; bezeugt ist in Iamnia ein Ti. Iulius Mellon, freilich nur durch die Grabinschrift für seine Frau.⁴³ Doch das Inschriftenmaterial Caesareas

39 Iosephus, *AJ.* 18, 158 f.

40 Iosephus, *AJ.* 17, 321.

41 Vgl. zum Einfluss von Stabsmitgliedern auf ihre Vorgesetzten Haensch (1997) 215.

42 Diesen Palast konnte man bisher bei den Ausgrabungen in Ascelon noch nicht identifizieren, wie mir Ryan Boehm, ein Mitglied des Teams, das dort zurzeit tätig ist, freundlicherweise mitteilte.

43 *AE* 1948, 141 = *CILP* III 2268; Eck (2007) 43.

zeigt, dass auch Personen mit diesem sozialen Status aus dem geschilderten Mechanismus von Einfluss(-nahme) und statuarischer Ehrung nicht ausgeschlossen waren. Gerade im Praetorium des durch Vespasian erstmals eingesetzten Finanzprokurators des *caput Iudaeae* wurde eine große Basis gefunden, auf der einst eine Statue eines kaiserlichen Freigelassenen gestanden hatte, offensichtlich in einem der Höfe oder Räume des Amtssitzes des Prokurators. Der Text lautet:⁴⁴

T FLAVIO AVG LIBER
H CALLISTO C
C AVRVCVLEIVS AMICO SVO

T(ito) Flavio Aug(usti) liber(to) | h(onoris) Callisto c(ausa) | C(aius) Aurunculeius amico suo.

Der Dedikant, vermutlich ein Bürger von Caesarea, nennt den kaiserlichen Freigelassenen seinen *amicus*, was persönlich gemeint sein kann, aber wohl eher vornehmlich dem öffentlichen Umgang geschuldet war.⁴⁵ Der Gedanke liegt zunächst nahe, dass Aurunculeius sich Callistus verpflichten wollte. Doch gerade weil die Statue *honoris causa* und zudem innerhalb des Praetoriums des Prokurators aufgestellt worden ist, sollte man annehmen, dass Dienste des Freigelassenen, die er bereits geleistet hatte und die auch bekannt gewesen sein müssen, die Ursache für die Ehrung des *libertus* durch einen freigebohrenen römischen Bürger waren. Sonst wäre es kaum möglich geworden, ihn innerhalb des Praetoriums zu ehren. Er hatte sich die Statuenehrung durch sein (offizielles) Handeln verdient.

Das hier geschilderte Phänomen ist ein reichsweites.⁴⁶ Es würde sich lohnen, es zeitlich und räumlich im Hinblick auf die dabei erscheinenden Personen sowie die erschließbaren oder vermutbaren Motive im Detail zu untersuchen. Über Mangel an Material wird man nicht klagen können.

44 Lehmann und Holum (2000) Nr. 2 = *CIIP* II 1302.

45 Siehe ein weiteres Beispiel für die Ehrung eines *amicus* in Caesarea: *CIIP* II 1288.

46 Siehe dazu im Überblick Erkelenz (2003) 172 ff.

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Dio Chrysostom as a Local Politician: A Critical Reappraisal

Christopher J. Fuhrmann

“The history of Bithynia after its annexation [by Rome] was comparatively uneventful.”¹ A.H.M. Jones’ dry comment does not do full justice to the tensions and complexities of Greek political life, in Bithynia and beyond, during the first two centuries AD. The eighty extant orations of Dio Cocceianus “Chrysostom” provide invaluable insight into the turbulent inner workings of Greek communities in the Roman Empire. The past thirty-five years have witnessed some strong scholarship on Dio’s role as a Second Sophistic rhetor and littérateur, philosophical commentator, and dispenser of political advice.² Because Dio’s orations are so rich, his potential as a historical source remains unexhausted. Fortunately, his pronouncements can be compared with those of other Second Sophistic thinkers.³ We can also gauge how he shaped his political precepts before a variety of audiences in several cities. In evaluating Dio and his political remarks, we have more to work with than the platitudes of a noble visiting *philosophe*; rather, the many political speeches he delivered in Bithynia abound in details highlighting his own political machinations. This fact is especially true of the civic speeches set in his hometown, Prusa ad Olympum (modern Bursa), which are the focus of this brief study.⁴

In some ways, Dio’s orations make for complicated evidence. In his seminal edition and 1898 monograph, von Arnim noted unanswerable questions regarding the nature and origin of Dio’s orations as texts. Some orations may have suffered unauthorized publication by audience members who took

1 A.H.M. Jones (1971) 162.

2 Desideri (1978); C.P. Jones (1978); Moles (1978); Salmeri (1982); Swain (1996) 187–241; Swain (2000); Bekker-Nielsen (2008); on the orations focused upon here, also note Cuvigny (1994). The best modern scholarship on Roman Anatolia has used Dio’s orations to good effect, e.g., Mitchell (1993); Meyer-Zwiffelhofer (2002); Brélaz (2005); Heller (2006).

3 See below on parallels between Dio Chrysostom’s political thought and Plutarch’s *Praecepta gerendae reipublicae*. Bowersock (1969) 110–12 highlights the usefulness of comparing Plutarch and Dio Chrysostom; Swain (1996) 187–89 seems more struck by differences between the two.

4 *Or.* 40, 42–43, 45, 46–48, 51 delivered before the assembly of Prusa; and *Or.* 49–50 delivered before the council.

liberties with the text (see *Or.* 42.4–5). The author himself likely revised most texts for publication, which means we cannot just take it for granted that Dio said exactly what his extant orations say.⁵ Nevertheless, I think it safe overall to proceed as if most of the texts under discussion here are decent approximations of what was said on a particular occasion, especially when some of this material (despite its self-serving presentation) is not particularly flattering to Dio. While we are largely dependent on the source of controversy himself to describe the complaints he generated, these complaints are so abundant that it is fairly easy to delineate the criticisms into credible patterns of political malfeasance. Again, the evidence on Prusa and its most famous son is unusually full and not wholly confined to Dio's orations: the indispensable contemporary correspondence between Pliny and Trajan, who exchanged a handful of unflattering letters concerning Prusa and Dio, reinforces my critical reassessment.⁶

So Dio's political activity can be closely examined, and from different angles. Even though most of our evidence comes from his orations, the results of this scrutiny are damning. If a politician is found to be less than perfect, that is hardly surprising, and I will not be the first person to point out that this man was not a saint. But scholars who touch on Dio's political activity tend to give him the benefit of the doubt, themselves drawn in, perhaps, by his gold-tongued eloquence.⁷ At this point, a less charitable approach will better advance our understanding. Contrary to the sympathy he has typically received, a more critical reading of the evidence suggests that as a local politician, Dio Chrysostom was a corrupt, manipulative, and sometimes hypocritical bully. While space does not permit an exhaustive discussion, I begin by sketching Dio's most consistent and pernicious rhetorical habits in his Prusan orations (already established in his earliest extant political speech, *Or.* 46).

5 Note the laudable caution of C.P. Jones (2012) 213.

6 Pliny on Prusa: *Ep.* 10.17a–b (on Prusa's accounts), 10.23–24 (on Prusa's wretched public bath; also 10.70–71), 10.58–60 (on Flavius Archippus), 10.81–82 (on Dio). Philostratus' fanciful rendering (vs 1.7.486–88) of Dio helped establish his (in reality, questionable) friendship with Trajan. Dio's family is mentioned in the epigraphic record (*IK* 39.33 = *IPrusa* 33, i.e., Corsten 1991), but we are unsure how this evidence is connected to the orator: cf. Salmeri (2000) 89 and Bekker-Nielsen (2008) 140.

7 Swain (1996) 187–88 noted Dio's attraction to power and enmity, which "somewhat" undermines his plea for concord in Bithynia, representing "political behaviour Plutarch totally rejects in *Political Advice*." Bekker-Nielsen (2008) 119–45 is properly skeptical on most points of Dio's career, but he, Swain, and others often assume the best about Dio. Moles (2000) 205, cf. 207, despite awareness of Dio's arrogance, even admits he increasingly sees him as "a fundamentally good man."

Dio's pet beautification project for Prusa then provides a case study to illustrate his political behavior; previous scholarship has underestimated this project's unpopularity, and the extent to which Dio had to force his construction plans through using strong-arm political tactics. Finally, the evidence from the last phase of Dio's career leads to the conclusion that Dio's consistent, grasping pattern of misbehavior, evident through every phase of his life at Prusa, made him a problematic and unsuccessful political figure in his hometown.

Dio Speaking to Prusa: Seven Rhetorical Patterns

Oratio 46 is Dio's earliest extant political address, probably set in the 70s.⁸ Its occasion was the aftermath of a lynch mob's aborted attack on Dio's home after he was suspected of hoarding grain or profiting in a time of scarcity. Several interrelated themes (none uncommon in wider Greek rhetoric) in this speech recur throughout his later career:

1. The importance of Dio's pleas for *harmony and moderation* is the first theme. Addressing his city the day after the abandoned assault, Dio proclaimed that his would-be assailants could not have been truly needy, "for neediness engenders restraint (*sôphrosynê*)" (46.11; cf. Dio Chrys. *Oikonomikos* frag. 8). Key to understanding Dio's civic orations is the idea of moderation or restraint, often expressed by the word *sôphrosynê*. Similar aspects of Dio's thought have been noted, especially the important concept of *homonoia* or "concord," but Dio's repeated appeals for moderation in his civic speeches have not been accorded their required central importance.⁹ In several contexts inside and outside of Prusa, Dio counseled aggrieved parties to moderate and soften their bitterness and their expectations. This has the effect of belittling problems which may actually have been more serious than he admits, and of maintaining a status quo or future course that is beneficial to the orator.¹⁰ One

8 Bekker-Nielsen (2008) synthesizes previous work on dating Dio's orations by von Arnim (1898); C.P. Jones (1978, with whom he largely agrees) 134–40; Salmeri (1982); and Sheppard (1984). I follow Bekker-Nielsen's (2008) 177–78 chronology of Dio's Prusan orations, which is as follows: *Or.* 46, 44, 42, 51, 40, 41, 45, 47, 48 (AD 105–106), 50, 49, 43 (AD 106–107).

9 Koolmeester et al. (1981) note that Dio used the word *sôphrosynê* forty-two times, usually with this meaning. Further literary background on this term, North (1966); Rademaker (2005). On *homonoia* as the opposite of *stasis*, Dio Chrys. *Or.* 38–41 and 48.9; C.P. Jones (1978) 83–94; Foxhall (2002) 179–81.

10 Swain (2000) 42.

reason he presses for concord and restraint before Greek audiences is that he saw himself as having special insight into the reality of Roman rule, and vis-à-vis Prusa, real influence in that system as well.

2. According to Dio, *the Prusans should be grateful for his liturgies and embassies*, and those of his family (46.3–6). These services should make Dio immune from petty criticism. While Prusa never attained the coveted *eleutheria* (free status), Dio was later able to help make Prusa an assize center, with an enlarged council. This was the result of an embassy to Rome that Dio led early in Trajan's reign.¹¹

3. Dio claimed never to act in his own self-interest: *all of his efforts* (his speeches, his economic activity, his politicking) *were solely for the benefit of Prusa*, and his efforts to help the town supposedly drained his own resources (46.1, 12, 14; cf. 40.7, 40.19, 45.2, 47.15, 43.7).

4. *His building activities should be appreciated*, not criticized (46.9). Dio seems to have had a penchant for providing Prusa with new stoas. The stoa and workshop that generated complaints in *Oratio* 46 were at least constructed on his property; this early conflict, however, foreshadows his later difficult quarrels over his ambitious, stoa-based public beautification plans for Prusa (40, 45, 47). Dio's construction-related dealings with the city were sufficiently complicated, that he could obfuscate against his opponents by selectively delving into financial intricacies in his speeches (e.g., 46.9).

5. *Dio consistently maligned his critics and downplayed their complaints*.¹² Surveying his political speeches, we see diverse criticism from an impressively broad range of quarters. It would be remarkable if Dio were always blameless in these many conflicts (more on this tendency below).

6. *Dio claimed to enjoy strong relationships with powerful Romans*. The emperor Nerva was an old family friend (45.2, cf. 41.6), and he was supposedly close to Trajan as well.¹³ Dio also depicted himself as being on good terms with the Roman governors of Bithynia-Pontus. In response to the recent threat against himself and his household that forms the background of *Oratio* 46, Dio made a thinly veiled threat against his fellow citizens at the end of his speech of moderation (46.14):

11 Bekker-Nielsen (2008) 122–25.

12 E.g., *Or.* 46.9–11, 45.4–5; at 47.1 they are “petty and unworthy,” at 43.1 they are “weak and jealous.”

13 E.g., *Or.* 44.6, 44.12, 40.5–7, 47.22. *Or.* 1–4 on kingship are assumed to have been delivered to Trajan. The intimacy with Trajan in Philostratus' brief account of Dio (*vs* 1.7.486–88) is probably fiction. As noted below, Dio's mixed fortunes in Prusa, and the cool tone of Pliny *Ep.* 10.81–82, suggest Dio exaggerated his closeness to Trajan.

And let no one think that I have said these things out of anger on my own part, rather than fear on *your* behalf, lest you someday be accused of being violent and lawless. For nothing that happens in the cities escapes the notice of the authorities (*hêgemones*)—by which I mean the greater authorities (*hêgemones*) around here. For just as family members of children who misbehave at home denounce them to their teachers, in just the same way the crimes of the cities' people are announced to them.

Hêgemôn ("leader") can have a range of meanings, of course, but it is Dio's usual word for Roman governors in his civic orations.¹⁴ Here, his specification of the greater (Roman) power is striking, to remove any doubt as to his meaning, and to put his would-be attackers back in their place. To be fair, if Dio's reporting of the facts is accurate here, he would have been reeling from a threatened assault.

Throughout the Prusan civic orations he delivered later, he continued to use his supposedly-close connections to governors and emperors as leverage against his fellow citizens, should they oppose him in any way.¹⁵ This is Dio at his most hypocritical, for like Plutarch, he understood that the Greeks of his day were squandering what was left of their freedom by pulling in the Romans to referee disputes between each other, and he firmly lectured audiences on the evils of contention as a guest speaker in other Greek cities. *Outside* of Prusa, Dio preached wariness towards governors, whom he put in a bad light. He warned the Nicomedians that contention with Nicaea would allow corrupt governors to abuse both cities (38.36). Dio praised Tarsus for prosecutions of violent governors, but warned them not to overindulge in one of the few checks provincials had on governors' behavior (34.9); he also criticized the Ionian League for their oath not to prosecute governors under any circumstance (34.39).¹⁶ For someone who spoke at length against insincerity in Prusa (51, 47.21–25), Dio was disingenuous for threatening to call Roman power into his disputes at home, but censuring Greeks elsewhere for doing the same thing. Criticizing the Nicomedians for their competition with Nicaea over the provincial title *prôtê*, Dio said that all reasonable people

14 Q.v. *hêgemôn* in Koolmeister (1981); cf. Mason (1974) 144–51.

15 E.g., *Or.* 45.8–9; see below on his major beautification project, and the analysis of his later career as a leader in Prusa, which suggests he did not have great influence over the emperor and governors.

16 Some Prusans later criticized Dio for colluding with a corrupt governor; see below. Note also C.P. Jones (1978) 79 and (on governors) Kokkinia (2006). Plutarch *Prae. ger. reip.* 814c and 814f; at 815a he blamed this self-destructive tendency on Greek leaders who cannot bear to take second place behind their local rivals; cf. Plut. *De fraterno amore* 487f–488a.

contemn such childish squabbles over empty distinctions; in fact, he claimed, “especially among the Romans, these disputes evoke laughter, and even worse, are called ‘Greek failings (*Hellênika hamartêmata*)!’” (38.38).¹⁷

7. In the two examples quoted above, Dio compared his audience to bad schoolchildren.¹⁸ Here we have another consistent tendency in Dio’s rhetoric: inflicting shame and humiliation on his audience by using *degrading metaphors and unfriendly comparisons*. True, Dio and other Second Sophistic orators employed a wide range of metaphors to emphasize a variety of points, and even comparisons to insects might be positive in some cases. Dio turned his animal metaphors against his Prusan audience, as if to ask, “Since these dumb beasts can get along with each other, why can’t you?”¹⁹ More significantly, Dio used hostile comparisons to create leverage against Prusans who opposed his schemes, to embarrass them and thereby manipulate his fellow citizens into doing what he wanted them to do. This tactic is most sharply deployed to bolster Dio’s ambitious but unpopular beautification program for his city, to which we now turn.

Dio’s Prusan Beautification Project (c. AD 100–105)

Dio’s exact plan for urban renovation is not entirely clear; there is fleeting mention (45.12) of fountains, walls, and harbor facilities (*limenes kai neôria*, presumably for neighboring Apamea). The main thrust of the project was clearly the erection of a large stoa along one of Prusa’s main thoroughfares. Some shops, shrines, and tombs had to be moved to make way. Construction of the new stoa necessitated destruction of some shanties and an old smithy, eyesores that painfully embarrassed the community during gubernatorial visits, according to Dio (40.8–9). But many of the city’s inhabitants liked the site as it was, leading to vehement complaints.

Dio’s response to this opposition reflected the patterns elucidated above. He dismissed the doomed structures as “disgraceful and ridiculous” (40.9). Dio spoke as if people should be grateful to him for the project, which he said was

17 On this and similar conflicts (e.g., Aristid. *Or.* 23 on Asian cities), see Robert (1977); Meyer-Zwiffelhofer (2002) 307–15; Heller (2006).

18 This comparison seems to be the direction that *Or.* 40.41 was headed in as well, at the abrupt end of the oration as we have it. Cf. Plut. *Prae. ger. reip.* 814a, 825; C.P. Jones (1978) 127; and C.P. Jones (1971) 117–18.

19 E.g., *Or.* 44.7 (bees), 40.32 (ants), 40.40–41 (several types of animals), 48.15–16 (bees and ants).

entirely for the benefit of Prusa (40.7, 47.15); after all, Dio just wanted Prusa to be less inferior to better cities, naming Smyrna, Ephesus, Tarsus, Antioch at one point, and neighbors Nicaea and Nicomedia at another (*Or.* 40.9–11, 47.13; cf. 40.5, 47.16–17). Dio stressed that he did not need the stoa for his own use at Prusa, that he lived in Prusa by choice, and the people there were lucky to have him; as a famous speaker and philosopher, many cities had invited him to come and take over their public affairs (so he claimed, 44.6), and he could always just leave the second-rate city behind to enjoy the renowned porticoes of great cities—the Persian Stoa at Sparta, Athens’ Painted Stoa, or any of the ones at Rome (47.17, cf. 47.20).

Dio’s threat to leave Prusa reminds us that his political career there was indeed unusual. Prusa was an awkward fit for this talented man, who was widely esteemed for his wisdom and oratorical skill. He was proud to have suffered exile under Domitian (45.1–2; cf. 13.1–3), an experience that promoted his image of outspokenness and philosophic virtue. The glamor that attached to Dio because of his high literary profile meant that he was not typical of ordinary local *potentes* in the curial class.²⁰ In his earliest speech, Dio did claim (*Or.* 46.6) to have performed major liturgies for his town, but he does not seem to have served the routine *cursus* of municipal magistracies. Nor did he seem comfortable among his notional peers on Prusa’s council, and his frequent prolonged absences were a problematic factor in his mixed fortunes at Prusa. But he complained at the opening of *Or.* 40 that some of his fellow Prusans saw him as an unwanted outsider.²¹ We might allow Dio some sympathy for his initial motivations to dignify Prusa with a new stoa. Having traveled widely, he surely did not want his hometown to be so inferior to other places. The origins of the project are connected to a benefit Dio helped bring to the city, the distinction of becoming a gubernatorial assize center, which would mean increased traffic to the town.²² Dio’s beautification project may have started as an honest attempt to promote his city and impress governors and other

20 Slootjes (2009) offers a perceptive reappraisal of local elites or *potentes*.

21 Cf. *Or.* 43.6. In *Or.* 50 Dio uncomfortably defends himself from the implied accusation that he had helped and favored the town’s lower classes. *Or.* 49 and 50 are late speeches delivered before the council, where Dio declines the office of archon (perhaps allowing his son to serve the office in his stead); his excuse for refusing nomination is one of his upcoming absences (cf. *Or.* 45.14).

22 *Or.* 40.10, 33; cf. *Or.* 34.47 (Tarsus) and 38.26 (Nicomedia). On economic benefits of assizes, see *Or.* 35.15–16, an address to Kelainai (Phrygian Apamea), in which Dio admits that some of the traffic (incl. pimps and other hucksters) that follows the governor to town is unsavory, like sheep dung that enriches farmers’ fields. Also note C.P. Jones (1978) 68; Haensch (1997) esp. 310–11; Desideri (2000) 96, 104; Fuhrmann (2012) 173–74.

visitors, but his bullying tactics mar this act of beneficence, and the scheme quickly ran into difficulties.

First, the genesis of the project was awkward and problematic. It did not grow organically from a broad base of local support, nor was it even the goal of a small faction who genuinely thought it was a good idea. To most Prusans, it must have seemed imposed from above by Dio and the provincial governor. In *Or.* 45.14–15 Dio made a strange (but probably true) claim about the origins of the governor's support for the urban renovation: after he and the governor had an informal discussion about Dio's dreams for the city, the governor convened an assembly without warning, to announce his support of Dio's wishes—at least the construction of a major new stoa. Dio had not expected anything concrete to come from this discussion so soon. Perhaps the governor was calling his bluff. The result was that Dio had obviously not had time to see to the proper political groundwork to build support for the plan.

What may have originally been envisioned as an individual project soon expanded to require monetary subscriptions from other wealthy Prusans. When it was time for them to pay forth the promised funds, they (including Dio himself) were slow to do so (40.3–4, 48.11); in fact, as the stoa construction was in progress, rather than the Prusan elite bestowing their private funds to the public works, the opposite was apparently happening: public funds were in the hands of a few wealthy Prusans (48.9), and Dio was eager that the unhappy populace be united and *not* complain to the visiting governor about this situation.²³ After all, it is not gymnasia or colonnades or wealth that makes a city *truly* beautiful, pleaded Dio, but moderation (*sôphrosynê*), friendship, and trust (48.9, cf. 39.2, 48.4–7). Not only did Dio dismiss the peoples' objection to the elites' improper use of public funds, he may even have lampooned the Prusans' concerns via a *reductio ad absurdum* in one of his great, imaginative literary works, the *Euboean Discourse*:

They brought me forward and someone cried out, "This man, sirs, is one of the fellows who have been enjoying the use of our public land for many years, and not only he but his father before him. They graze their cattle on our mountains, farm and hunt, have built many houses, have set out vines, and enjoy many other advantages without paying rent to anybody for the land or ever having received it from the people as a gift. For what, pray, would they ever have received it? And though they occupy what is ours and are wealthy, yet they have never performed any public service,

23 In addition, *Or.* 47.19 might imply that the project had run over budget, and cost more than the subscribers initially thought.

nor do they pay any tax on what they make, but live free from taxes and public services as though they were benefactors of the city, (*Or.* 7.27–28, Cohoon's Loeb trans).²⁴

Furthermore, Dio had to resort to strong-arm tactics to overcome his domestic opposition. His beautification regime was so unpopular that only the threat of Roman intervention against his own fellow citizens could safeguard the project. On different occasions when he spoke on his Prusan beautification, Dio had to push back against resentment over his destruction of shops, shrines, modest homes, and other sites that may have given the city a sort of humble old charm, including a metal-working shop (*chalkeion*, 40.8–9; 47.11, 16–17). As much as he tried to dismiss these objections through sarcasm, mockery, and unfriendly comparisons ("It's as if I'd torn down the Parthenon at Athens..." 40.8), he ultimately felt the need to stress that the project was the will of the governor; if that were not enough, he was also armed with some kind of letter of support from the emperor (40.5–6; cf. 44.12, 45.8, 47.22). The contents of this imperial letter are never disclosed to the reader, and Dio does not seem to have specifically quoted it against Prusans who oppose his renovation plans. It need not have been a specific blessing by Trajan of Dio's plans (though he does have such a letter in a later oration, 47.13–14), and it conceivably could have been the same old letter from Nerva that he read at the end of *Oratio* 44 upon his return from exile.²⁵ The point was to show the Prusans that Dio was a man of great influence, and so it would be better not to obstruct his plans.

Dio never directly admitted to calling in Roman connections against his domestic opponents, but the implied threat was clear. This inimical leveraging, and his brash self-assurance in pursuing his beautification project, led some Prusans to start calling him a tyrant (47.18–24; cf. 50.10). Dio ridiculously counter-argued (47.24, cf. 43.6) that he was not a tyrant because he did not debauch other men's wives and sons. Though not a tyrant in the classic sense, Dio was certainly a bully and a locus of controversy and conflict. His building program was not the only problem he found himself at the center of during his mid-career years. His embassy to Trajan early in the new century won Prusa an enlarged council and its own assizes, but this was less than many hoped and much to his annoyance, certain Prusans criticized Dio's leadership (40.13–15,

24 On this text, Ma (2000); Lehman (2012); and on the comic aspects of this particular passage, Russell (1992) 117–18. Bekker-Nielsen (2008) 178 dates this speech to the end of Dio's career, which if correct would increase the likelihood of a concrete connection to the dispute in *Or.* 48.9.

25 Von Arnim (1898) 344–46.

45.3–5). Later, when the hundred new counselors were selected, some accused him of corruption in the matter (45.7–10). He also seems to have been pursuing an official union (*synoikismos*) with Apamea which was not popular, and went nowhere.²⁶

Some of this criticism was possibly unfair to Dio, whose ambitions and high profile in the wider Greek world challenged the status quo within Prusa. But we have seen that from the beginning of his activity as a public speaker, through the middle part of his career, he had trouble getting along with his fellow citizens. He routinely had to defend himself from diverse charges of misconduct, and seemed to need reliance on supposedly friendly governors and emperors to get his way in Prusa. Even if we were to dismiss half the suspicions about his questionable conduct as a local politician, the balance sheet would still yield an unsavory character. Having only taken account of his early and middle career so far, will scrutiny of his later career redeem him as an upright political actor?

Dio's Later Years (c. AD 105–112)

Anyone trying to view Dio as a successful, essentially honorable public figure in Prusa will have much to explain away when it comes to his later career. In the preceding discussion of the grain riot (*Or.* 46) and of popular hostility towards Dio's destruction of humble structures, I do not mean to suggest that opposition to Dio was a poor-versus-rich conflict. There was no class solidarity in Prusa. Despite running afoul of many poorer people in *Orationes* 46, 40, and 45, Dio seemed to enjoy wide popularity at other times, if we can trust his entreaties that people moderate their enthusiastic praise for himself (e.g., 48.4, cf. *Or.* 44). In a pair of late speeches, *Orationes* 49 and 50 both addressed to the Prusan council, Dio pleaded that he had not sought excessive favor from the lower classes; he was apparently fearful that his notional peers thought he was playing demagogue against them. He usually depicted himself as reining in the masses, using his rhetorical gifts to calm their unsteady disposition. Things at Prusa had apparently degenerated so badly that the community's right to convene the assembly was suspended. When the governor Varenus Rufus visited and allowed them to meet again, Dio begged his fellow citizens not to riot (48.1–3).

26 Note *Or.* 40–41 on *homonoia* between Prusa and Apamea, and the careful reading of *Or.* 45 in Bekker-Nielsen (2008) 127–30. *Synoikismos* is mentioned in 45.14, the same 'pie-in-the-sky' discussion between Dio and an unnamed governor.

Oratio 48 builds toward a problem that was brewing from his earlier speeches, in which Dio threatened to bring in Roman power against his enemies in Prusa: Dio's unsavory dealings with the proconsular governors of Bithynia-Pontus. In the beginning of this speech, Dio exerted pressure on his fellow Prusans lest they barrage Varenus Rufus with their complaints.²⁷ On the one hand, with their right of assembly just restored, it was reasonable of Dio to try to keep Varenus from regretting his kindness to Prusa. On the other hand, hearing people's complaints was part of the governor's job, if he was so inclined to receive them, and perhaps Varenus did not really want or need Dio as a self-appointed filter between him and the people of Prusa. Dio might well have been trying to keep Varenus ignorant of the many problems swirling in Prusa at the time, especially the large amount of public money in a few people's hands (48.9–11, again, or still, a problem when Pliny first arrived: *Ep.* 10.17a).

In what was probably one of his last speeches, *Oratio* 43, Dio (after comparing himself to Socrates: 43.8–10) referred to a direct accusation that he had colluded with an unnamed “wicked governor” (*hêgemôn ponêros*, 43.11) in torturing, banishing, and killing many Prusans. We do not know which proconsul of Bithynia-Pontus this was. The old consensus fell on Bassus, but with recent advances in chronology, Varenus Rufus is the most likely malefactor, though it could conceivably be a lesser-known figure.²⁸ (Bithynia had more than its fair share of bad governors).²⁹ Dio earned further opprobrium for continuing to defend this wicked governor,³⁰ and for much else besides. His accusers charged him with ruining the community's ancestral religious celebrations, generally corrupting the people, “and many other things” (43.11–12). *Oratio* 43 seems to be a prologue to a longer, more detailed *apologia*, which is unfortunately not

27 At *Or.* 48.3, Dio claimed that Varenus would soon return to Prusa, so that people would have a chance to speak (or shout) at him in the near future.

28 Bassus: von Arnim (1898) 367–68, 374–83; Varenus Rufus: Sherwin-White (1966) 275; C.P. Jones (1978) 102.

29 Bithynia provided seven of the thirty-six known *repetundae* cases (i.e., almost one in five), more than any other province. Three of these trials occurred during Dio's period of activity: that of Julius Bassus under Vespasian as quaestor (*Plin. Ep.* 4.9) and again as proconsul in 103 (*Plin. Ep.* 4.9, 6.29, 10.56), and Varenus Rufus in 107 (*Plin. Ep.* 5.20, 6.5, 6.13, 6.29, 7.6, 7.10); Talbert (1984) app. 9. While details are lacking, we do know there were several more than these thirty-six cases; cf. Dio *Or.* 34.9 and 34.38–40.

30 If this governor is Varenus Rufus, then *Or.* 43.11 may suggest that Dio was cooperating in Varenus' defense *de repetundis*; luckily for Varenus, division within the provincial *koinon* undermined the prosecution, and the case probably fell apart (*Plin. Ep.* 7.6, 7.10). Dio may well have helped engineer the *koinon*'s dysfunction that saved Varenus; C.P. Jones (1978) 102, notwithstanding the objections of Bekker-Nielsen (2008) 144.

extant. In any case, the charges in this speech are so serious, it is clear that Dio could not avoid trouble in his later career.

This negative impression is reinforced by Pliny's letters, which may well preserve the historical record's last glimpse of the Prusan orator.³¹ In fact, Pliny's correspondence reflects more poorly on Prusa and its divisive elite as a whole, than on Dio in particular. The town's financial accounts were a great mess (10.17a-b), as was its public bath (10.23f). A state-owned and formerly beautiful house was rented out for a time, then fell into ruin despite the fact it housed a shrine to the deified Claudius (10.70). In *Epistula* 10.81 we find a potentially murderous accusation against Dio from one of the only Prusan enemies of his we know by name, Flavius Archippus, who demanded that Dio hand over the financial records for a public works project (*ratio operis*) he was involved in. Dio was suspected of dishonest conduct. The second part of his accusation, that Dio had a statue of the emperor near the graves of his wife and son, could be seized upon as a life-threatening instance of treason by some emperors.

Yet Trajan (10.82) had absolutely no interest in the impiety charge, and Archippus emerged as having far less credibility than even Dio. Pliny and Trajan knew the accuser from a previous exchange of letters (10.58–60). In his youth Archippus had been condemned to the mines for forgery, but escaped. Posing later as a philosopher, he somehow obtained the favor of Domitian. After Archippus tried to dodge jury duty in Prusa, his enemies complained to Pliny, to try to get the forger sent back to the mines, which was tantamount to a death sentence.³² Trajan let Domitian's favor stand (10.58–60). Now, in his two accusations against Dio (10.81), Archippus and his allies hit Pliny with this business just as he was about to leave Prusa. The accusers asked for and received a postponement to prepare their case, then asked for yet another delay, and finally had the gall to keep Pliny waiting for several days thereafter with no word. It was all probably just an attempt to harass Dio, who was a markedly cooperative and eager defendant in the matter.³³

On the surface, the Archippus affair looks like a clear, uncomplicated victory for Dio. In fact, the episode reiterates the fact that the Prusan elite were as

31 The orator's traditional identification with the "Cocceianus Dion" of Pliny *Ep.* 10.81–82 is probably correct. But the name "Cocceianus" is otherwise unattested with Dio Chrysostom, and it is within the realm of possibility that this person is not the famous orator. On Dio's problematic nomenclature, Gowing (1990).

32 Dio is not specifically mentioned (Plin. *Ep.* 10.58–60) as an enemy of Archippus (only a woman named Furia Prima is listed by name), but considering the events of *Ep.* 10.81–82, it would be no surprise if Dio were involved. Flavius Archippus is not otherwise attested.

33 Note Bekker-Nielsen (2008) 133–36, a perceptive analysis of the Archippus affair.

divided and dysfunctional as the community as a whole, and again we see Dio at the center of trouble. Pliny and Trajan wrote of Dio in a neutral and straightforward tone; they seemed positively inclined to him but showed no manifest favor or affection. Moreover, we need to return for a moment to the problem that generated Archippus' complaint in the first place, and that is Dio's request to transfer to the city a project he had undertaken (*assignari civitati opus cuius curam egerat*, 10.81). Despite the fact that Archippus was a scoundrel, he was absolutely right to demand that this project's financial records be scrutinized before Prusa took it over. As we have seen, the murky line between public and private works and property was a major problem in Prusa, especially as Dio's beautification project was concerned.

Indeed, might the project (*opus*) in Pliny's *Epistula* 10.81 at the end of Dio's career be a part of Dio's earlier ambitious, mid-career beautification plans? Scholarly consensus mostly holds these projects to be distinct.³⁴ But this conclusion is not at all certain, especially if the older project was ever expanded (a possibility hinted at in *Or.* 45.12). That a building project might drag on for too many years, that its funding became dubiously complicated, and that Dio was suspected of corruption in the matter, none of this would be surprising given the state of Prusa during these years, and the record of Dio's stoa project in particular. In any case, despite Dio's success in the Archippus affair, it is clear that he continued to be a divisive figure in Prusa through his later life, as he had often been before. His later relations with the city were marred by the same kind of accusations of corrupt hard dealing that had always surrounded him.

Conclusion

According to the usual, positive reading of Dio's orations, the great philosopher and orator was not a troublemaker; no, his few opponents were just jealous, petty, and unfair. That is what the author would have us believe, that his opponents are a misguided, unreasonable, and small minority. If this were the case, then at best Dio was thin skinned, and over sensitive to minor criticism. In the discussion above, I have offered an alternative argument, that Dio expended much rhetorical sweat against his Prusan opponents because their charges against him had merit. Dio's appeals to harmony and moderation were self-serving, and his various schemes in Prusa were a consistent source of trouble and division.

34 Sherwin-White (1966) 675–76; Bekker-Nielsen (2008) 132, 143 n. 88, 178 (cf. Dio *Or.* 43.1); contra Fuhrmann (2012) 176.

Readers determined to maintain a positive view of Dio Chrysostom, despite my critical portrait, must conclude that if the orator was reasonable, then other Prusans were unduly critical and fickle. As ever, the truth probably lies somewhere between these extremes. The people of Prusa apparently *were* fickle, one day voting unanimously for Dio's beautification regime, but later complaining about it (45.16). I have presented a case that Dio was a corrupt, menacing malefactor, but this does not mean his victims were good. Dio's unusual background did give him real insight into the working of the Roman Empire, and perhaps the Prusans could have been more cooperative. But here at the end we are reminded that politically, Dio seems to have overplayed his hand. Ultimately, he was not a successful local politician.

Modern historians tend to pay more attention to Trajan and Pliny's letters than to Dio's orations, but each source illuminates the other so well, that Dio and Pliny should be studied together.³⁵ Dio in particular offers an indispensable view of the difficulties that local politics entailed. One remaining question is the extent to which Prusa was an unusually troubled community. Assessing the typicality of Prusa is challenging in large part because Dio Chrysostom, for good or ill, dominates our view. One thing is certain: politics in Roman Bithynia was anything but uneventful.

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35 As is commendably done in Talbert (1980), the article that introduced me to Dio Chrysostom when I was a novice graduate student. I also happily acknowledge Philip Stadter's help from that era; cf. Stadter (2006).

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Late Antique Administrative Structures: On the Meaning of Dioceses and their Borders in the Fourth Century AD¹

Daniëlle Slootjes

In assessing the territory of the Roman Empire, we can observe different geographical and artificial administrative demarcations. At the outskirts we have the frontiers that determined the physical edges of the empire, which established not only the Empire's size geographically, but also designated the limits of the territory that was to be ruled by the Empire's administration.² In recent decades we have come to the understanding that we should not see these frontiers as a fixed demarcation in the landscape of the empire's territory, but as a frontier *zone* characterized by its fluidity and its cultural and economic exchange that influenced the people who inhabited that zone.³ *Within* the territory of the empire we find further demarcations that were crucial to Rome's administration: those that defined the civic territories and those of the units of the provinces. The expansion of the empire in the Late Republic and (early) Empire led to an increase of provincial territories and thus of provincial boundaries or borders (the so-called *fines* or *termini provinciae*), separating the different provincial territories from each other.⁴ Whereas frontiers should be understood more in terms of zones, several modern studies on boundary markers and boundary disputes have demonstrated that both central and local

1 I dedicate this contribution to Richard Talbert, as a token of appreciation for our shared interest in Roman institutions and geography. Thanks to Gerda de Kleijn, Coen van Galen and Erika Manders for their sharp observations during the process of writing this contribution.

2 See Green and Perlman (1985), 4 on the difference in meaning of “frontiers” and “boundaries,” which in modern studies are often used as if they have a similar meaning.

3 Many discussions on frontiers and boundaries of the Roman Empire have appeared in modern scholarship in recent years. *Inter alia* the many publications of the *Roman Frontier Studies*; Green and Perlman (1985); Lee (1993); Isaac (1988 and 1993); Whittaker (1994 and 2004); Mathisen and Sivan (1996) in particular 1–5; Hekster and Kaizer (2011).

4 Richardson (2011) for a brief examination of the political and territorial meaning of (*fines/termini*) *provinciae* in the period of the Roman Republic. Cf. Von Hesberg (1995) on the meaning of provinces. In this contribution I will use both “boundary” and “border” interchangeably to indicate the physical demarcations of the Late Roman provinces, dioceses and prefectures. All dates AD.

civic authorities were able to identify the specific locations of the borders between different communities and different provinces.⁵ This implies not only a general awareness and knowledge of the location of boundaries, the fact that communities quarreled about them shows their importance.⁶

The administrative reforms of the late third and early fourth centuries, under Diocletian and later Constantine the Great, had an effect on the internal geographical and administrative boundaries of the Roman Empire. An increase in the number of provinces—almost a doubling—led to a substantial expansion of the provincial *finēs* or *termini*, separating the different provincial territories from each other.⁷ Furthermore, the emergence of dioceses and prefectures as new units within the imperial administration added to an increasingly complex network of internal boundaries. After all, the borders of these different types of territories, i.e. provinces, dioceses and prefectures, corresponded in many locations. Apart from being physical boundaries that designated—but at the same time separated—these three types of territories geographically, their borders also represented a hierarchy within the administrative structures of the empire. Where boundaries coincided, they concurrently demarcated the territorial limits of the official powers of provincial governors, *vicarii* and praetorian prefects.

So far, modern scholarship has not yet offered any in-depth analyses of the functioning and meaning of these three Late Antique administrative borders, i.e. those of the provinces, dioceses and prefectures.⁸ This contribution aims to offer a first step towards developing our understanding of these three administrative units in relation to each other, both in a geographical and administrative sense. However, as this is an extensive topic that cannot be treated in its entirety within the physical boundaries of this contribution, this study is limited to a discussion of the role of dioceses and their boundaries, with a

5 Aichinger (1982); Burton (2000, 2002a, and 2002b); Elliott (2004).

6 Whereas in the case of boundary disputes within a province, governors were often asked to pass judgment, in the case of disputes that involved the provincial borders emperors seem to have sent special legates of *iudices* to bring such conflicts to an end. See for instance Elliott (2004) n. 84 (boundary dispute between Vienna in Gallia Narbonensis and Axima in Alpes Graiae et Poeninae in 74) and n. 95 (six boundary markers indicating the demarcation between Thracia and Moesia Inferior, dated to 135).

7 Richardson (2011) for a brief examination of the political and territorial meaning of (*finēs/termini*) *provinciae* in the period of the Roman Republic. Cf. Von Hesberg (1995) on the meaning of provinces. In this contribution I will use both “boundary” and “border” interchangeably to indicate the physical demarcations of the late roman provinces, dioceses and prefectures.

8 As already acknowledged by Talbert (2004) 26. Cf. Mathisen and Sivan (1996) section I C on internal frontiers.

particular focus on the fourth century as its formative period. I have chosen to concentrate on dioceses, because within the hierarchy of the administrative structures of the empire, these are the first new units beyond the traditional units of the provinces.

Late Antique Dioceses: Where Do We Stand?

Over the past decades, modern scholarship has discussed several issues pertaining to the first clustering of provinces into the larger units of dioceses. Whereas for a long time the establishment of dioceses was regarded as part of Diocletianic reforms of the late third and early fourth centuries, increasingly more scholars now believe that the formation of dioceses should be seen as a creation of Constantine the Great in the period around 314.⁹ In 1982, Noethlichs was among the first to point out that, although the process of breaking up of provinces into smaller units had been started under Diocletian, the ancient evidence offers no indication of dioceses being constructed during his rule.¹⁰ Furthermore, Noethlichs argued that the system that united the provinces with the dioceses and prefectures did not come into being as a three-fold hierarchical system at once, as he assumed that the dioceses had been created later than the prefectures. In this line of thought, the prefectures had generated the conditions needed for the dioceses to emerge.¹¹ Although Migl agreed with Noethlichs' ideas that the dioceses were a Constantinian construction, Migl argued for an almost reverse scenario by which dioceses developed more independently from the prefectures. In Migl's view, once the territories of the provinces had been reduced to smaller units, dioceses were created as a pragmatic solution for imperial control of the tax collection. The appointment of fiscal officials, the so-called *rationales* who had financial duties that went beyond the boundaries of one province could be regarded as a result of this solution.¹² In 2002, Zuckerman took Noethlichs' and Migl's arguments a step

9 Dioceses as part of Diocletianic reforms: Jones (1964) 373; Barnes (1982) 224–25; Harries (2012) 52–53, and as part of Constantinian reforms: Noethlichs (1982); Migl (1994); Zuckerman (2002). In general on the reforms and the lengthy process of the splitting up of provincial territories and the creation of dioceses based on the *Laterculus Veronensis*, Bury (1923).

10 Cf. Lactant. *De mort.pers.* 7.4, where he described the division into smaller provinces under Diocletian, but no mention of dioceses yet.

11 Noethlichs (1982) 72–3.

12 Migl (1994) 54–69, 153–61. Cf. Noethlichs (1982) 79.

further and identified a specific moment during Constantine's reign, i.e. the summer of 314, for the official appearance of dioceses within the structure of the imperial government. Around this time, Constantine and Licinius, after they had both defeated their co-rulers Maxentius and Maximinus Daia respectively, introduced another set of major administrative reforms including the creation of twelve dioceses. Each half of the empire contained six dioceses under the rule of one Augustus: Licinius ended up with the eastern dioceses of Pannonia, Thracia, Moesia, Oriens, Pontica, and Asiana, while Constantine ruled the western dioceses of Brittania, Gallia, Viennensis, Italia, Hispania and Africa.¹³ The *Laterculus Veronensis* which contained a list of the dioceses and provinces of the empire, was, as Zuckerman believes, produced in 314, thereby confirming his thesis.¹⁴

As for the fourth century ancient sources on dioceses, the *Laterculus Veronensis* seems to give the first official attestation of dioceses.¹⁵ Apart from some references in literary sources (e.g., Euseb. *Vit. Const.* 3.19 and 3.36), legal texts and in particular the *Codex Theodosianus* represent the most important sources for the situation of the dioceses in the fourth century. Whereas one of the earliest laws referring to one of the dioceses, Asiana, dates to the year 330 (*CTh* 2.26.1), most of the legal texts date to the 370s and later in the fourth century.¹⁶ This can be seen as an indication of the dioceses being well established within the administrative structures by the mid-to-late fourth century, but simultaneously it could also point to a "slow start" of the incorporation of the dioceses into the official administrative hierarchy.

Most dioceses were headed by so-called *vicarii*, although in two instances the title was different, i.e. the *Comes Orientis* of the diocese Oriens and the *Praefectus Augustalis* of the diocese of Aegyptus.¹⁷ Based on the *Notitia Dignitatum*, later in the fourth century the diocese of Aegyptus was created after being separated from the diocese of Oriens. In the first half of the fourth

13 Zuckerman (2002) 636.

14 Zuckerman (2002); Jones (1964) *Appendix III. Dioceses and provinces* 1451–1461. See also Barnes (1982) 201–208 for a discussion on the date of this so-called Verona List. Barnes thought that the Verona List reflected the state of the eastern provinces in the period between 314/5 and 324, and for the western provinces between 303 and 314. One of the first studies on the Verona list was done by Bury (1923).

15 Bury (1923); Jones (1954); Barnes (1982) 201–208; Migl (1994) 55, 63–64; Zuckerman (2002) 628.

16 *CTh* 1.5.13 (of 389); 1.15.12 (of 386); 6.13.1 (of 413); 7.6.3 (of 377); 7.10.1 (of 405); 10.19.7 (of 370–3); 10.19.12 (of 392); 12.1.97 (of 383); 12.12.9 (of 382); 16.1.3 (of 381). *Const. Sirm.* 3.12 (of 384).

17 Migl (1994) 58–63; Feissel (1998).

century, the ancient sources appear not to be entirely clear as to the terminology, as both *vices agentes* and *vicarii* appear to be used for those whose duty it was to head the dioceses, although *vicarii* seems to be used more consistently later on in the fourth century. Even though much remains unclear about the position and function of vicars, and we would profit from more in-depth analyses, it seems clear, however, that *vicarii* were responsible for the overall functioning of their diocese.¹⁸ In other words, they represented a mechanism of control that stood above the individual provinces, and rendered an account of their actions to the praetorian prefect. Migl argued that in the early decades of the fourth century the *vicarius* should be seen as part of the bureau of the praetorian prefect instead of running his own independent officium.¹⁹ It is tempting, however, as previous modern scholarship has often done, to describe *vicarii* as intermediate officials between provincial governors and praetorian prefects, as if these officials functioned, and were even caught, within a strict hierarchical system, with governors at the lower end and prefects at the upper end of the hierarchy. In practice, and as A.H.M. Jones rightfully stressed, we should not recognize such a strict hierarchy within these administrative structures.²⁰ As we learn from several laws in the *Codex Theodosianus*, in some instances governors, especially those of high status such as proconsuls or *consulares*, bypassed *vicarii* and went directly to the praetorian prefects. Furthermore, some imperial laws communicated directly to the governors of the provinces instead of to the *vicarii*. On the other hand, from the point of view of the imperial administration, simultaneously there seems to be the desire to follow the hierarchical structures of these three levels of officials.²¹

Obviously, the position of power of a *vicarius* had a geographical component to it, as his official duties and responsibilities had to be acknowledged and accepted for the specific territory of a diocese, both by the imperial government as well as by those leading the different units, i.e. the provinces, within the diocese. In other words, the powers of a *vicarius* were limited by the physical boundaries of his diocese. Similarly, such a geographical limitation

18 Noethlichs (1982).

19 Migl (1994) 63. Also Arnheim (1970); Palme (1999) on the functioning of Late Antique *officia*.

20 Jones (1964) 374–75; Migl (1994) 69.

21 Slootjes (2006) 16–25 on the different levels of status of provincial governors. Some examples that illustrate how vicars were not always part of the hierarchy of praetorian prefects and provincial governors: *Codex Theodosianus* 1.15.1 of 357; 1.5.2 of 327?; 1.5.3 of 331, emphasizing that governors should go to the *vicarius* first when they wanted to refer matters to the emperor; 11.30.24 (of 348).

can be detected in the case of provinces as well. In the development of the prefectures, at least in the early fourth century, there seems not to have been such a strong geographical restriction for praetorian prefects. According to Migl, it is not until the second half of the fourth century that we can see the definitive creation of the four big prefectures (*die Bildung der Großpräfecturen*), i.e. those of Gallia, Italia, Illyricum and Oriens, to which then praetorian prefects were linked.²² Consequently, in the first half of the fourth century, we should consider the praetorian prefects more connected to specific emperors—during the Tetrarchy to Augusti or Caesares, and later on for instance to the sons of Constantine—instead of to specific territories.

The Meaning of Diocese Boundaries

As seen above, modern scholarship on dioceses has mostly focused on the chronology of the creation of the dioceses, and on the terminology and function of *vicarii*. So far, little to no attention has been given to the geography and the meaning of dioceses boundaries. What is there to be said about the diocese territories? Who decided on which provinces to include within one particular diocese? Unfortunately, the ancient sources offer hardly any information on the decision making process for the set up of the dioceses territories, even though one might expect the imperial government, i.e. the emperor and his top officials, to be involved in such decisions. Let us try to reconstruct at least some of the practical issues of this process. If we accept Noethlichs and Migl's argument that the dioceses were a Constantinian creation, and if we subsequently are to follow Zuckerman's thesis that the dioceses appeared for the first time officially within the administrative structures in the summer of 314, after Constantine and Licinius had defeated their rivals Maxentius in 312 and Maximinus Daia in August of 313, should we then imagine these two emperors and their officials to actually look at a map or at a catalog that showed or listed the provinces, and then decide on a set up for the dioceses with the provinces to include in each diocese? In such a scenario, when did they plan this particular division? Already in February of 313 when they met in Milan, even though Maximinus Daia was still in his imperial position? Or would they have worked out the division without meeting about it in person? Obviously, such questions which we cannot answer remind us how little we know about this process that had such far-reaching consequences for the administrative structures of the empire.

22 Migl (1994) 161–208.

If we look at the actual territories of the dioceses, as Noethlichs has pointed out, the regions of the dioceses were not necessarily areas that in a geographically logical sense belonged to each other.²³ For instance, the diocese of Hispania stretched all the way into Africa, whereas the diocese of Italia consisted of the provinces of Raetia as well. The diocese of Oriens included the provinces of Isauria and Cilicia which could geographically, and justifiably so for the sake of territorial unity, also have been part of the dioceses of Asiana or Pontica. Furthermore, Noethlichs has shown that size seemed not necessarily to have been a guiding principle for the composition of the dioceses as the size among them differed considerably in square kilometres.²⁴ Even though there must have been a reasoning behind the choice of these particular territories within one diocese, so far we have not found a satisfactory explanation.²⁵

If we want to come to an understanding of the actual process of putting together a diocese, let us, by way of experiment, examine one diocese, its provinces and its boundaries: Asiana.

From the *Laterculus Veronensis* we learn that Asiana contained the following provinces: Asia, Hellespontus, Insulae, Lydia, Caria, Phrygia I, Phrygia II, Pamphylia and Pisidia.²⁶ As Mommsen and Bury have argued, Lycia is missing from this list but should be added, as it must have been omitted accidentally from the list by a copyist of the *Laterculus Veronensis*.²⁷ Towards the end of the fourth century, the provincial territories of Asiana saw one further change in the creation of the province of Lycaonia, which is listed in the *Notitia Dignitatum* (its list of the eastern provinces and dioceses should be dated to the last decade of the fourth century).²⁸

These ten provinces that together represented the diocese of Asiana (see map 2, based on Barr. map 101), had experienced significant changes in the period prior to the creation of the diocese, because of the provincial reforms that had led to a substantial increase in the number of provinces. These particular provincial reforms have often officially been ascribed to Diocletian, even though scholars have realized, and justly so, that the breaking up of provincial territories into smaller units had been a protracted process that had not occurred simultaneously throughout the empire at large. The pressures and problems of the third century had prompted emperors such as for instance

23 Noethlichs (1982) 73, in particular n. 17.

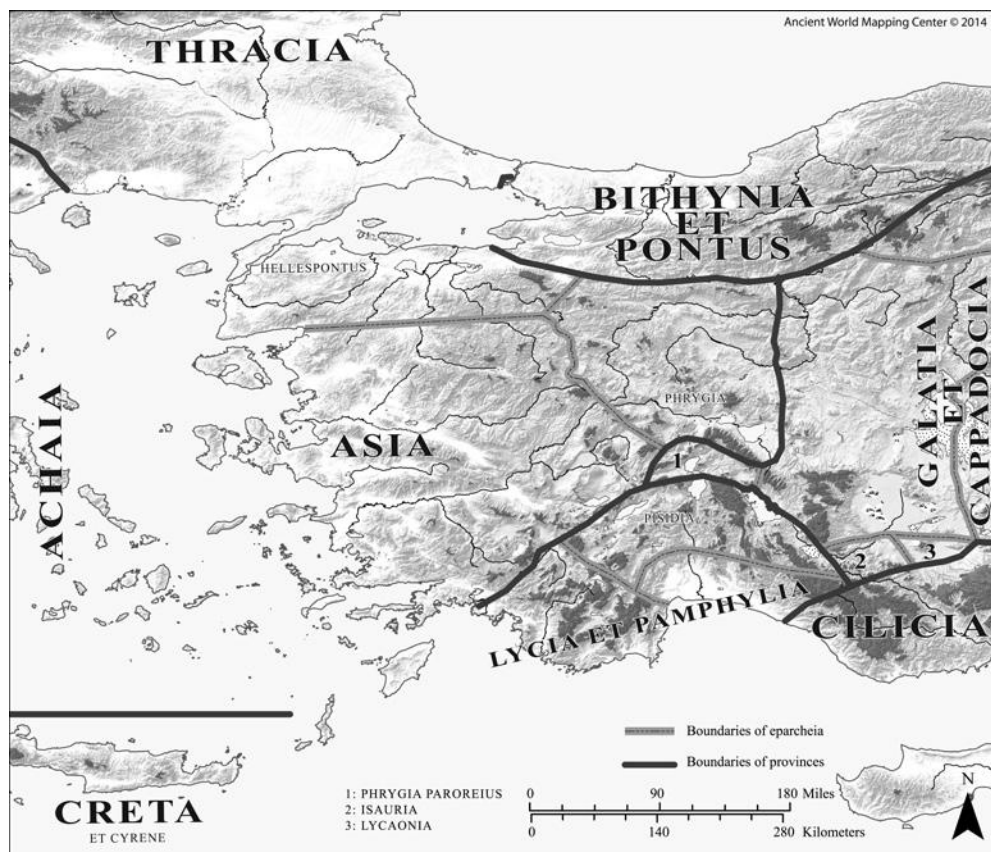
24 Noethlichs (1982) 73, in particular n. 17.

25 Cf. Jones (1954).

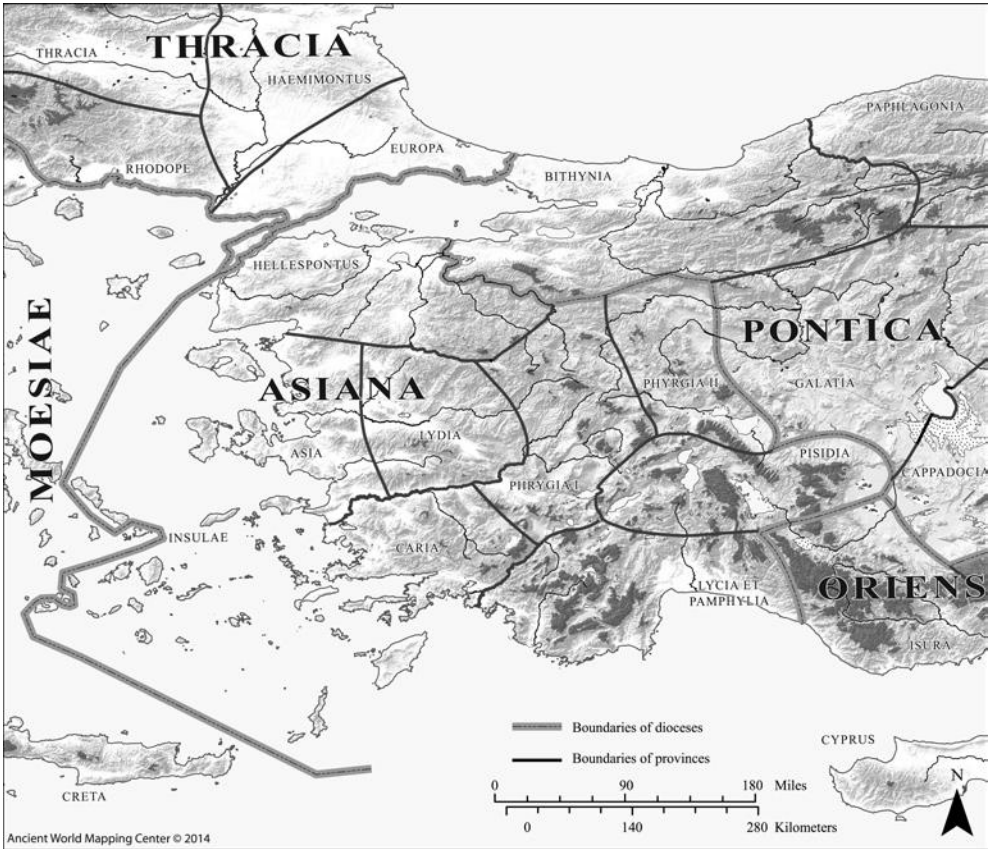
26 Jones (1964) *Appendix III: Dioceses and Provinces*.

27 Bury (1923) 133 and 146.

28 Bury (1923) 133. *RAC* Suppl. 25, *Notitia Dignitatum*.



MAP 9.1 *Roman provinces in the East, in particular the region of and around Asia, at the death of the emperor Trajan (AD 117); based on Barr, map 100, produced by the Ancient World Mapping Center © 2014 (awmc.unc.edu), used by permission.*



MAP 9.2 *Roman provinces and dioceses in the East, in particular diocese of Asiana; based on Barr., map 101, produced by the Ancient World Mapping Center © 2014 (awmc.unc.edu), used by permission.*

Aurelian to split certain provincial territories in order to make them more manageable.²⁹ In other words, by the time Diocletian came to power, in certain areas of the empire he merely confirmed the new provincial status quo instead setting up new provinces. Furthermore, even though this operation seems to have been mostly finished by the end of Diocletian's rule, still some new provinces were created in the course of the fourth century such as the above-mentioned Lycaonia.

The ten provinces of Asiana (Asia, Hellespontus, Insulae, Lydia, Caria, Phrygia I, Phrygia II, Lycia, Pamphylia, and Pisidia) had originated from the former provinces of Asia, Galatia, and Lycia and Pamphylia (see map 1).³⁰ This must have been quite an administrative operation, although, again, we are mostly in the dark about the practicalities of the decision making process that stood at the beginning of this operation of splitting up these provinces. Who decided on how the provinces were to be split into several smaller provinces? Were there internal natural boundaries such as rivers that would make the division obvious? Also, if provinces were cut in half, were existing city boundaries used as a guiding principle in setting up new provincial boundaries? Or were such city boundaries disregarded? Even though this is not the place for an in-depth geographical analysis of this process in each of these individual provinces, a first glance at the territories in Asiana shows several notable features. In the case of the new province Hellespontus, its boundaries seem to be a logical consequence of an already existing administrative sub-division within the former province of Asia.³¹ The northern and southern borders of Caria seem to have been defined by two rivers.³² The creation of Pisidia seems to have been more complicated, especially at its north-eastern borders, areas which previously were part of the province of Galatia.³³

Once these new provinces had been established by the early fourth century, the next step—as it turned out—for the imperial government would have been the creation of dioceses. In the case of Asiana, its territory was demarcated by boundaries both over land and sea. Those who decided on which provinces to include within a certain diocese such as Asiana, would have grouped together

29 For example Moesia Superior or Italy which seem to have been divided into more territories under Aurelian. Bury (1923) 134–35, 141. Noethlichs (1982) 72; Slootjes (2006) 17.

30 For a clear view of the territories, see *Barr.*, map 101 and the literature on the boundaries of the individual territories in the map-to-map directory.

31 Anderson (1932) 31; Jones (1954) 23, 27.

32 Also Akwright (1895); Marchese (1989).

33 Mitchell (1998).

various adjacent provinces into one diocese. Consequently, the *fines* of a diocese could be seen as a string of the *fines* of the provinces that were situated along the edges of a diocese. In other words, the imperial government would not need to create new borders for the dioceses, but it could combine existing borders of the provinces which thus ended up as a guideline in the formation of the territories of dioceses. Notably, underneath the provincial boundaries lay an extensive structure of local city boundaries that in part corresponded with the provincial boundaries. Similarly, a comparable process would emerge once the boundaries of prefectures were established later in the fourth century, as these coincided both with the boundaries of provinces and dioceses. As a consequence, certain boundaries physically represented the entire formal administrative structure of the empire: city, provinces, diocese and prefecture.

So far, we have looked at the practical side of the emergence of dioceses and their boundaries. This is an administrative perspective, important for the imperial government in structuring the overall administration of its empire. In other words, this examination has shown us a glimpse of the meaning of the geographical position of dioceses and their boundaries within the practical context of the administrative structures.

If we step away from this macro level of the imperial administrative structures and zoom in on the micro level of individual inhabitants of the empire, do we have evidence for individuals or even groups, that offers us insights into the ways in which these individuals or groups experienced the presence and meaning of dioceses and their borders? Do we, for instance, know of people who crossed the boundaries of dioceses and went into the next diocese? If so, did they recognize these boundaries and how did they perceive them? In the case of *provincial* boundaries, both Talbert and Elsner have pointed out that travelers in the Roman world had an awareness of these boundaries as they crossed them.³⁴ The passage of going from one province to the other even seems to have become a regular phenomenon in the sense that most inhabitants of the empire would be allowed to travel around freely, and as Talbert argued, “if they chose to cross a provincial border, that was routine matter, seldom of concern to a traveler or to authorities, therefore.”³⁵ In looking at the fourth century evidence, the following three accounts that presented prominent notions of ancient geographical knowledge and awareness might offer a glimpse of awareness of diocese borders: the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, the *Itinerarium Egeriae*, and the anonymous *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*.

34 Elsner (2000) 187–88; Talbert (2004) 25–31.

35 Talbert (2004) 27.

The *Itinerarium Burdigalense* presents an account of a pilgrim traveling from Bordeaux to the Holy Land in 333.³⁶ Being an *Itinerarium* the account is characterized in part by a list of locations where horses could be changed (the *mutationes*) and where one could spend the night (the *mansiones*). Furthermore, the reader is told about the distances between these locations, and a central more descriptive part presents a depiction of the Holy Land. A closer look at the text shows us that the pilgrim describes both provincial and diocese borders. As expressed in the Latin, to him both these types of borders were *fines*.

Overview of *fines* mentioned in the *IB*:

- §560.10: *fines Italiae et Norci*: border between Italia and the province of Noricum, here the traveler would cross the border between the diocese of Italia and Pannonia.
- §564.1: *fines Pannoniae et Misiae*: border between the province (or diocese?) of Pannonia and the province (or diocese?) of Moesia.
- §565.7: *finis Myssiae et Asiae*: border between the province of Moesia and Asia. However, here, Asia must be a mistake in the manuscript, as Cuntz has proposed, and Dacia was probably meant, taking the entire journey into consideration.³⁷
- §567.9: *fines Daciae et Tracia*: border between the province of Dacia and the province (or diocese?) of Thrace.
- §574.3: *fines Bithyniae et Galatiae*: border between the provinces of Bithynia and Galatia
- §576.3: *fines Galatiae et Cappadociae*: border between the provinces of Galatia and Cappadocia.
- §579.1: *fines Cappadociae et Ciliciae*: border between the provinces of Cappadocia and Cilicia, this border would also have been the diocese border between the dioceses of Pontica and Oriens.
- §581.2: *fines Ciliciae et Syriae*: border between the provinces of Cilicia and Syria.
- §582.8: *fines Syriae Coelis et Foenicis*: border between the provinces of Syria Coelis and Phoenice.
- §585.3: *fines Syriae Finices et Palestinae*: border between the provinces of Syria and Palestina.
- §602.2: *finis Europae et Rhodopea*: border between the provinces of Europa and Rhodope.

36 See for an extensive and recent analysis Elsner (2000).

37 Geyer and Cuntz (1965) 6.

- §603.7: *finis Rhodopea et Macedoniae*: border between the provinces of Rhodope and Macedonia.
- §607.3: *finis Macedoniae et Ephyri*: border between the provinces of Macedonia and Epirus (this would have been Epirus Nova).
- §610.8: *finis Apuliae et Campaniae*: border between the provinces Apulia and Campania.

This overview of *fines* that were connected to administrative units such as provinces or dioceses demonstrates that in many cases the author of the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* used *fines* to indicate provincial borders. Notably, however, there are some cases which call for further attention in connection with our focus on dioceses and their boundaries. First, as the traveler moved from Italia westward into Pannonia, he recorded *fines Italiae et Norci* (560.10), which might strike the reader as a bit peculiar at first. What was meant with “Italia”? Is this a reference to the diocese? In looking at the text, the traveler had moved from Mediolanum through the province of Venetia et Histria into the province of Noricum (most likely Noricum Mediterraneum), but he did not refer to these provinces. Instead, he mentioned Italia, which then could be seen as a reference to the diocese of Italia. However, one might wonder if here, Italia is a more general reference to Italia as one of the best known areas or regions of the empire. Similarly, in antiquity people would have referred to Africa or Asia in more general terms than always meaning the specific administrative units.

Second, as mentioned, in most cases *fines* clearly indicated provincial boundaries for instance, when the traveler moved from the province of Bithynia into the province of Galatia or from Galatia into the province of Cappadocia he listed *fines Bithiniae et Galatiae* (574.3) and *fines Galatiae et Cappadociae* (576.3). There are, however, several instances in which it might not be entirely clear to us as readers which type of border was meant, the provincial or the diocese border. For example, in the case of the *fines Pannoniae et Misiae* (564.1), these could both refer to provinces or to dioceses. Can we determine what the author meant here? Earlier in his account, he listed Pannonia Inferior (561.5–6) and Pannonia Superior (562.9). Notably, the order in which these provinces were mentioned seems to have been mixed up by the copyist of the text, as the traveler would have moved through Superior first and then into Inferior.³⁸ Based on the cities listed in the itinerary, we can establish that the journey went from Sirmium (563.7) in the province Pannonia Inferior to Viminacium (564.8) in the province Moesia Superior, which confirms that he

³⁸ Cuntz (1965) 5.

indeed crossed provincial borders that were also diocese borders, even though the text not clarifies which of the two are meant. The fact that the text left out the additions “Inferior” to Pannonia and “Superior” to Moesia makes it not easier. Similarly, in the case of the *fines Daciae et Tracia* (567.9), is Tracia province or diocese? From the text it becomes clear that the traveler moved from Serdica (567.1) in the province of Dacia Ripensis to Filopopuli (568.4) in the province of Thracia. In other words, there is no particular reason to argue that Tracia is a reference to a diocese instead of a province. These two examples make clear that, without further specification of the *fines* and while taking into account that most *fines* in the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* denote provincial borders, there is no convincing case for arguing that in these two particular instances the author referred to diocese borders, even though they were in practice. Also, we might wonder what additional value the mentioning of diocese borders would have had, if to an individual traveler the provincial border would be the type of boundary that had been familiar for centuries. Should we deduce from this text that the diocese border was of no real concern to most travelers? For instance, when the traveler crossed the boundaries between Cappadocia and Cilicia he also crossed the border between the dioceses Pontica and Oriens, or on the way back between Rhodope and Macedonia he moved from the diocese of Thracia into Moesia, in both cases in the text without acknowledging the diocese borders as such.

What can we conclude from the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* in regards to our question on diocese boundaries? Obviously, this particular long distance traveler to the Holy Land had an awareness of internal borders, especially those of the provinces. He might have known the diocese borders as well, but to what extent he understood differences between provincial or diocese boundaries remains, however, unclear. Could one argue then, that the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* demonstrates that in the 330s diocese borders had not become part yet of a traveler’s experience in crossing borders? This in itself might not come as a surprise as the dioceses at that stage in the fourth century had not been in order for a long time.

The second work to investigate is the *Itinerarium Egeriae* that tells the famous story of Egeria’s pilgrimage from the western part of the Empire to the Holy Land in the 380s.³⁹ As the account demonstrates, Egeria traveled from one city to another, and from one province to another without having any trouble in crossing the provincial *fines*. She mentions, for instance, how her trip led her through the provinces of Cilicia (§22), Cappadocia, Galatia and Bithynia (§23). Even though during her trip Egeria had to have crossed

39 Sivan (1988); Wilkinson (2006).

several diocese borders, there are no references to diocese borders in her account. This might come as a surprise as her travels are dated to the later part of the fourth century, which represents a period in which diocese borders should have been more established, especially in comparison to the period of the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*. How should we understand the fact that she apparently felt no need to mention these borders? Did these have less value to her as a traveler than the provincial borders that might have been more familiar to her? Obviously, one can, again, only speculate about the answer to this question. Perhaps, from the individual point of view of a single traveler one might argue that the units of the provinces that had been part of the Roman Empire for so many centuries were much easier to grasp and oversee when one was physically on the road and moving through the empire's territory? Although, of course, some of these provincial borders had been relatively new as these had been created in the late third and early fourth century. Furthermore, should we consider the diocese boundaries merely an administrative construction that was of importance to the imperial government and its officials, but that had no real value to those who came into physical contact with such boundaries, i.e. those who crossed them?

The third document to review is the *Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium* that was probably written somewhere around the 350s and belonged to the genre of so-called *breviaria* or geographical compendia.⁴⁰ Contrary to the Christian nature of the pilgrimage travels of the *Itinerarium Burdigalense* and the *Itinerarium Egeriae*, this work is considered a pagan work in the sense that it contained no references to Christian locations, but to locations connected to the traditional cults.⁴¹ Whereas in the first part of the *Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium* the anonymous author set out to describe the world beyond the borders of the Roman Empire (§§ 4–21), in the second part he offered an account of the Imperium Romanum (§§ 22–67). It is in this second part that the reader is presented with an overview of the different *provinciae*, *regiones* and *civitates* of the empire. A close reading of the text causes some concern for the reliability of its information. In some regions the author clearly outlined the situation of the third century instead of the fourth century. As an example, in his description of Syria, he says “*deinde iam regio Syriae omnis partitur in tres Syrias: Punicam et Palestinam et Coelam*” (§23), thereby reflecting the period of the early third century instead of the newer division of the fourth century. Furthermore, the author seems to complicate the account's clarity by using both the terms *regiones* and *provinciae* for territories that officially were

40 Rougé (1966); Mittag (2006).

41 Rougé (1966) 48–55.

provinces within the empire's administration (for instance, in §42 he says *Galatia provincia*, followed in §43 by *Phrygia, et ipsa regio bona*). In addition, one wonders about the geographical knowledge of the author, as he seems to give a sloppy or unlearned impression when he described parts of the western half of the empire, jumping from Italia to Moesia and Dacia, and then onwards to Pannonia, Gallia, and then Spania (§57–59). In these instances he seems to merge references to *regiones* and *provinciae*. Could one speculate about the meaning of Pannonia, Gallia, or Spania and regard them even as references to the diocese? In the case of Pannonia, that could refer both to the situation pre- and post-reforms of Diocletian and Constantine, when Pannonia might stand for the provinces of Pannonia Superior or Inferior or even for the diocese of Pannonia. Gallia and Spania would be more difficult to understand as the names of province, and one might want to argue that here these terms allude to the dioceses, although similarly to the case of Italia in the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, these terms might also have referred more generally to Gallia and Spania as long-standing terms that people would have used in more popular language instead of the official administrative language.

Based on these three accounts, the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*, the *Itinerarium Egeriae*, and the *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* I would argue that to individual travelers who wrote about their adventures in the fourth century, diocese boundaries had not yet become a part of their travel experience in the sense that they would write about them. Strikingly, apart from the administrative function of diocese boundaries and vicars being geographically defined by these boundaries, for most of the fourth century, these boundaries are invisible in most of the ancient literary evidence.

In conclusion, many questions remain, and we would need to try different approaches in our attempt to get closer to an understanding of the meaning of diocese boundaries. To the imperial administration diocese boundaries mattered, and from that point of view they were of importance to the empire's subjects as well. Boundaries dictated which officials were responsible for which administrative units, be they provinces, dioceses or prefectures. Provincial subjects must have known to which diocese their province belonged. If they were, for instance, disgruntled about their provincial governor's administration of justice, they might turn to the official who resided up one level, i.e. the *vicarius*. However, it is not easy to establish the meaning of diocese boundaries on a more personal and individual, or cultural and economic level, as demonstrated in the second half of this contribution.

As said in the introduction, this contribution is merely a first step towards obtaining an understanding of the relation between the different components

of the Late Antique administrative system. Much remains to be discussed, as dioceses, their role and boundaries—as well as those of provinces and prefectures—deserve more scholarly attention.

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PART 3

Geography and Cartographic History



The Geography of Thucydides

Cheryl L. Golden

In my historical method course I regularly point with ancient Hellenic pride to Thucydides as one of our earliest, if not *the* earliest, historian in the western tradition to take a “modern” approach to his subject matter. Leaving behind the *hubris* and *nemesis* of Herodotus, rarely relying on the importance of portents others find in both natural and supernatural phenomena, our Thucydides is sober and analytical, examining the historical context and actions of individuals and groups in his search for causation. In order to achieve his aims, Thucydides includes geographic elements in his analysis of the causes and course of the Peloponnesian War. Geography is one of the first challenges we encounter as historians of the ancient world. Thucydides appreciated the importance of geography for conducting and communicating his own analysis.

The “Thucydides question” has until recently rarely included a geographic dimension.¹ We should not be too surprised that scholars have overlooked the “geography question” in Thucydides’ world view since the aim of his work does not begin to approach the aims of early Greek geographers, cartographers, and cosmographers. Yet, his history requires the reader to have an understanding of Greek geography. The reader needs to be able to “follow” Thucydides geographically, and follow without a graphic illustration.

Inspired by Denis Cosgrove’s questions regarding geography and world view as outlined in Talbert’s introduction to *Geography and Ethnography* we can proceed.² How does Thucydides use geography, conceive of space and boundaries, distance and direction? Does Thucydides’ concept of geographic space reflect the perspective of his intended audience? This essay aims to address these questions by examining geographic references in two well-known selections, the Archaeology (1.1–23) and the Sicilian expedition (6.1–52, 7.72–87), and one less studied passage dealing with Sitalces and his Odrysian kingdom in Thrace (2.95–101).

¹ Strassler (1996); Rood (1998); Funke and Haake (2006); Zahrnt (2006b); Hornblower (2011).

² In particular: “What counts as geographic knowledge, and how is it produced, coordinated, learned, represented?” Raaflaub and Talbert (2010) 2.

Before pushing forward with Thucydides himself, we should briefly examine the intellectual tradition for geography and cartography in ancient Greece.³ Previous to Thucydides, literary and philosophical works offered examples of approaches to geography in Greek thought. Some were metaphorical, such as Homer's depiction of Achilles' shield (*Il.* 18.480–810). Philosophical enquiry of the pre-Socratics tended to be theoretical, connected to geometry, geography and cosmology. Systemic geographic enquiry in the fifth century BC tended toward identifying continents and their borders, dividing the globe into north and south or east and west, often with an aim toward describing the role of geography and climate in the development of human cultures. Romm has demonstrated that Greek thinkers in the classical age from Herodotus to Plato attempted to connect both terrain and climate to the nature of Greek and non-Greek peoples, if not always consistently so. Some ancient writers suggest for example that challenging terrain produced war-like peoples, while a moderate climate, without tendency to extremes of hot or cold weather, produced a docile population easily subjected to royal rule.⁴ On the other hand, according to Plato, the moderate climate of say—Athens—produced not a docile community prone to monarchy but one superior in intellect, suited to rule others.⁵ Guettel Cole suggests that another of the dominant themes in Greek geographic analysis supported the idea that the farther one traveled beyond a Greek polis—a geographic center of culture—the more barbaric the world became.⁶ Thucydides' geographic references are less theoretical and more practical, if not graphic, and seem to reflect first-hand knowledge of one who has traveled widely. His uses of geographic elements echo some of the themes noted by Romm and Cole in other ancient authors.

There is little evidence before Herodotus and Thucydides of the kind of practical application of geographic theory that might aid an army or tradesman in getting from “point a” to “point b.” In the Archaic era, geographic inquiry occupied the interests of philosophers. The Ionian philosophers mapped the heavens as well as the earth. But as Harley and Woodward note, “large scale terrestrial mapping, in particular, lacked a firm empirical tradition of surveying and first hand observation.”⁷ Anaximander of Miletus was “the first to draw

3 Guettel Cole (2010); Romm (1991) introduction.

4 Romm (2010) 220–23 on *Airs, Water and Places* 16.1–16.5.

5 Romm (2010) 223–26 on Plato's *Republic* 4.35c.

6 Cole (2010) 206–12.

7 Harley and Woodward (1987) 130.

the outline (*perimetron*) of land and sea and also to have constructed a globe.”⁸ Strabo called the *perimetron* a *geographikon pinaka* (1.1.11).⁹ Anaximander was “the first recorded of that long line of Greek craftsmen-philosophers who tried to express concepts in graphic form.”¹⁰ Herodotus describes such a map and its practical uses. Aristagoras, the tyrant of Miletus had a bronze pinax: a *periodos* “of the whole world with all its rivers and seas.” Herodotus claims that Aristagoras used it to show the Spartans how best to take on the Persians to aid in the Ionian revolt (4.42, 5.49). The map had the opposite effect than intended upon Sparta. When the Spartan kings perceived the great distances involved in such a campaign, they encouraged Aristagoras to look elsewhere for support. When Aristagoras took the map and the invitation to Athens, he had more success. Such a pinax seems to have been portable, with practical applications. It was a useful tool for Herodotus’ narrative: only with the pinax could his audience follow his version of Athens’ decision to engage in Persian affairs. Small wonder that Herodotus, a world traveler, historian, ethnographer and geographer, offered critiques of Ionian map makers: Herodotus favored geographic study and map making based on firsthand experience through travel as opposed to theoretical approaches (10.42).

Besides Herodotus, we have few references for ancient maps as practical popular tools. Aristophanes’ *Clouds* (200–217) presents a map as a stage prop among other wild measuring instruments to be found in the “thinkery.” Plutarch describes how the Athenians were familiar with the shape and location of Sicily, drawing maps in the dirt in the agora as they debated the merits of the campaign (Plut. *Nic.* 7.1–2, *Alc.* 17.2.3). Aelian offers an anecdote attributed to Socrates and Alcibiades indicating the authoritative nature of maps (Ael. *vh* 3.28). We must wait for the second century AD Alexandrian Ptolemy and his *Guide to Drawing a map of the Oikumene* for support in antiquity of a utilitarian approach to mapmaking and map usage.¹¹

Thucydides’ literary geographic descriptions—while not pictorial—should be added to the examples of mapping in Classical Greece. As we shall see, his descriptions of Sicily and Thrace, in particular, indicate knowledge gained by his or others’ practical experience. In the end, we will find that Thucydides has crafted a *periodos* of Thrace.

8 Diog. Laert. 2.1. Hecataeus of Miletus, *fl.* ca. 500, may have improved upon such a *periodos*.

9 Dilke (1985) 21–31. Herodotus on Anaximander: 2.109. Harley and Woodward (1987) Chapter 8.

10 Harley and Woodward (1987) 134.

11 Talbert (2010) 259.



MAP 10.1 *The geography of Thucydides, produced by the Ancient World Mapping Center
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The Archaeology 1.1–23: Hellenes and Poleis

Few selections from Thucydides' work have received more attention than the first twenty-three chapters of book one. In the so-called archaeology Thucydides gives the history of the Greeks, offering an explanation for the rise to prominence of city-states and sea powers. These chapters feature ethnographic and geographic themes. Thucydides practices something like ethnography when he defines how *Hellenes* came to be seen as separate or distinct from the other inhabitants of the *oikoumene* (1.3.3–4) Homer did not make such distinctions, Thucydides writes, because in Homer's day

The Greeks were not known by one name. . . . They each came to be called Greek, city by city, coming together and understanding each other [through a common language].

For Thucydides, language is a significant tie that binds the Greeks and makes them distinctive. This distinctiveness also serves to separate them culturally—and in a way geographically—from others in the world. This geographic distinctiveness can be attributed to the entity of the *polis*.

Previous to the establishment of city-states, soil quality was an issue of stability for the Greeks. According to Thucydides most of the soil was poor except for that in Thessaly, Boeotia and parts of the Peloponnesus. As such these more fertile areas were more hotly contested (1.3–4).¹² The poor soil in the rest of Greece contributed to the migration of peoples, who might move on if threatened by neighbors or the conditions, leading to a long period of instability. The arrival of the *polis* as an important geographic entity signaled the settlement of the Greeks, leading to development and their success. The polis is another cultural and geographic trait, like language, that separates the Greek from the non-Greek. Thucydides' archaeology is in many ways a discussion of the evolution of the city-state as a geographic and political institution, both organized and stable. For him, the evolution of the city-state is part military, part economic and part geographic:

Another important development in the life cycle of the Greek polis was sailing (1.7.1):

When those in the cities became better seafarers, they built walls along the shores and occupied the isthmuses for the sake of commerce and to defend against their neighbors.

¹² Garnsey (1985) argues that the deficiencies of Attic soil might be exaggerated.

Thucydides' description of the evolution of Corinth follows a similar analysis of geographic causation (1.13.5). The Corinthians, having established their city on the isthmus connecting the Peloponnesus to the rest of mainland Greece dominated the overland trade routes. Once the Greeks began to sail, Corinth's position was doubly fortunate as she became a leader in both overland and sea trade such that the poets of old styled her "wealthy" Corinth.

Finally, Thucydides asserts that in the early days the *poleis* lacked sophistication, economic surplus, navies and strong walls; warfare was on a much smaller scale and confined to local conflicts. For the ancient Hellenes, he says (1.15.2):

There were no wars on land, at least none through which power was acquired. There were, however, conflicts along the borders of each and every city. In the old days, the Greeks did not conduct campaigns away from home for the purpose of conquering others. Nor did they forge an alliance subject to some great city or come together as equals to conduct campaigns. Instead, each of the neighboring towns fought one another frequently.

Thucydides offers this discussion in part to contrast the early history of the Greeks with his own day of powerful city-states and to emphasize why *his* war is more worthy of study than any that has gone before. The old days were simpler; conflicts of his day are complex.

The Sicilian Expedition 6.1–52, 7.27–87: An Island Far, Far Away. . .

The Athenian campaign against Sicily repeats themes found in the Archaeology and supports Thucydides' practical and literary uses of geography. The detail offered by Thucydides in this episode indicates that he has personal knowledge of the island, its cities, rivers and topography, and that he interviewed survivors of the debacle.¹³ His description of the location of cities on the east coast of Sicily, his knowledge of rivers and topography might indicate a certain level of first-hand knowledge (6.5.5, 6.88.3–4). Thucydides opens the discussion with the statement that the Athenians were uninformed about the size of Sicily as well as the nature and numbers of its peoples (6.1). This statement is in conflict with the analysis offered by Plutarch—many centuries later—and by the fact that the Athenians had been in diplomatic negotiations with

13 See Funke and Haake (2006); Zahrnt (2006b).

various towns in Sicily as early as 457, when the Athenians made an alliance with Segesta.¹⁴ Those in the know—the political and military elite—had knowledge of Sicily. Surely Athenian merchants and sailors had ventured westward as well. Thucydides' assessment of the demos does not belie their ability to sketch an outline of the island. Thucydides' point is that the demos had no understanding of the logistical and tactical complexities such an expedition posed. By stressing the geographic ignorance of the Athenians, Thucydides prepares the reader for the disaster about to unfold.

Thucydides describes the size of the island (6.2–6). He estimates that it takes eight days to sail around Sicily in a merchant ship. He follows with a study of the peoples in Sicily, just as he did in the *Archaeology*. The Sicilians' early history is the history of peoples moving to and from the island. Much like the early days of Greece, the early peoples of Sicily were mobile, unsettled. The nature of Sicily and her peoples change when the Greeks begin to create colonies there, bringing city-state culture (6.2). Thucydides relates the Greek history of Sicily in terms of city foundations, one after another. At the time of Thucydides' analysis, he concludes that the Sicilians (Greek and otherwise), unlike the Spartans and the Athenians, are not engaged in the business of *arche* or empire building. Their world is not yet settled and stable enough. Thucydides believes they will be a force to be reckoned with one day if they continue to follow the same evolutionary pattern as the mainland Greeks. To punctuate the idea that Sicily is still in a state of early development we understand that it was something like a border skirmish between the Segestans and the Selinuntines that provided the pretext for Athenian intervention (6.6).

The ethnographic and geographic themes continue in the debate between Nicias and Alcibiades. Nicias argues for giving up the expedition because the Segestans are barbarians (6.11.7). The islanders as a whole are numerous and disorganized. The real fight is with Sparta, here at home. Alcibiades, who views the conquest of Sicily as key for Mediterranean domination, assesses the strengths and weaknesses of Sicily in this way (6.17.2–3):

The cities there are populated by mobs and all types of peoples; they are changeable in their political organization. Because of this no one has any real patriotism nor are they accustomed to military readiness. Each man thinks he can persuade the others by words or through political factions for his own gain, and if not successful in such schemes, is ready to pick up and leave to live elsewhere.

14 The treaty's date is controversial. Still, the Athenians had other dealings with Sicily in the 420s. Hornblower (2011) 147.

Alcibiades agrees with Nicias that the enemy is mixed in ethnicity and therefore, has no identity. While Nicias defines them as barbarous and not worth the effort, Alcibiades claims their lack of unity makes them an easy target.

The theme of geographic distance is important in the narrative. In Nicias' speeches and in the debate at Syracuse, there is a persistent concern for the great geographic distance the expedition represents. The Athenians will be going far away from home to a quite different place. This endeavor will open up a new phase to the war—a second front—in which supply lines and allies may prove difficult to maintain. The Syracusans, though Greek, take on the property of the other; but their otherness is described in geographic rather than ethnographic terms. At 6.21.2 Nicias says, "We are taking ourselves away from home. . . . and going to an entirely strange land . . ." Thucydides has Nicias argue in 6.11.4 that even if the expedition is successful, there will be difficulties in governing a people so far away. Far better to stay home, he argues:

The Greeks in Sicily will fear us best if we do not go. Next best is if we go, show power for a little while, and then leave. We all know that which is the farthest away is marveled at, especially if it does not have its reputation tested in any way. If we [go and] fail in this endeavor, they will quickly support our enemies there.

In a final geographic plea, Nicias asks the Athenians to vote to stay home in their own part of the world; leave the Sicilians to enjoy their world. Keep the natural boundaries which divide the Athenians and the Sicilians, boundaries which Athens should not cross: the Ionian Sea and the Sicilian Sea (6.13.1). In the end Nicias' warnings about great distance and the unknown only serve to excite the demos about the adventure of the expedition. Nicias follows up, emphasizing that a great force will be needed, a "city-sized" one eventually. The city-sized nature of the expeditionary force only gives the demos greater confidence that their forces will be too big to fail.

Meanwhile, out west in Syracuse, Thucydides continues these themes in the speeches made there by Hermocrates and Athenogoras. Hermocrates is convinced the invasion will materialize (6.33). He notes that unlike the Athenians, the Syracusans do not venture far from home. He warns that there have been few campaigns fought so far from home that have been successful. He compares the Persian expedition against Hellas to the Athenian expedition against Sicily. Hermocrates assures his audience that just as little Athens had great success against the Persians who traveled so far from home to encounter the Greeks, the Athenians, traveling so far from home with a huge force will also suffer.

Athenogoras, another leader of the people at Syracuse, argues that Athens cannot possibly transport enough hoplites to challenge Syracuse given that their ships, especially coming all this distance. They will have to bring “another city as large as Syracuse” (6.37.1).

The geographic imagery related to the “other” and to distance foreshadows the dramatic defeat and retreat of the Athenian forces in 7.72–87. Inherent in this part of the narrative is the image of a city in full retreat. In this selection filled with the pathos of utter defeat, Thucydides provides extensive geographic detail, every step of the way. The Athenians are truly fish out of water, retreating by land rather than by sea. They are thwarted at every turn by the Syracusans who are always nimbly a step ahead of the lumbering “city.” The reader follows the retreat as Thucydides names rivers, towns, roads, and ridges. Thucydides’ account of the progress made by the Athenians shows that each day the distances traveled became smaller and smaller, until the retreating Athenian force resembled a sluggish, “city” under siege. The geographic details in the retreat are given not as a cartographic account of Sicily, but rather to illuminate the military and dramatic spectacle. The terrain confuses and separates. The narrative is riveting, painful to read, as we travel along with the Athenians, witnessing their suffering, stade by stade.

Thrace and Macedonia 2.95–101: A *periodos* in Words

Thucydides’ discussion of the kingdom of Sitalces the Odrysian and the Macedonian kingdom of Perdiccas is perhaps unique in his history. This episode offers geographic and ethnographic information about a region and peoples that seems, at first glance, only tangential to his narrative. Both Gomme and Hornblower have defined the selection as a digression.¹⁵ But closer examination of the selection from a geographic perspective proves insightful for the assessment of ancient geography and cartography, as well as the general level of geographic knowledge among Thucydides’ intended audience.

Thucydides’ knowledge of Thrace shows that he spent a significant amount of time there. Modern scholarship tends to place Thucydides in

15 Gomme (1956) 241; Hornblower (2011) 371, “The amount of information Thucydides gives goes perhaps a little beyond the needs of the narrative (though the general Greek panic caused by the threatened Odrysian invasion no doubt justified the digression for contemporary readers). . . . These chapters are a shining exception to the rule that there is little ethnography in Thucydides for its own sake.”

Thrace during his twenty year exile from Athens (424–404).¹⁶ Thucydides tells us that he had the right to work gold mines in Thrace (424/23) and that he held influence among the locals in the area of Amphipolis (4.104–105). Plutarch and Marcellinus report that Thucydides was descended of the Olorus family, and was related to Miltiades of Marathon fame and to Cimon. Miltiades married the daughter of a Thracian king named Olorus, giving Thucydides a Thracian origin (Plut. *Cim.* 4, Marcellin. 25).¹⁷

Marcellinus tells us that Thucydides spent his exile in Thrace engaged in his mining interests at the Skapte Hyle on Mount Pangaeus; he claims Thucydides wrote his *History* while sitting under a plane tree there (Marcellin. 25). The attribution of Thucydides' mine as the Skapte Hyle is problematic. The Skapte Hyle produced some 80 talents of gold per year for the Thasians who controlled the mainland area of Thrace just opposite the mine (Hdt. 6.46–47). Thucydides tells us that the mining concern was confiscated by the Athenians after the revolt of Thasos in 463. If this was the gold mine which Thucydides had the right to operate, it stands to reason that after his exile, that right would have been revoked.¹⁸ This of course does not mean that Thucydides did not have other mining interests or property in Thrace.¹⁹ Once elected *strategos* in 424, Thucydides served in this area. Finally, there is the tradition that Thucydides spent time at the court of the Macedonian king Archelaus (r. 413–399), and was there at the death of Euripides (406), then in residence at the Macedonian court (Marcellin. 29–30). This discussion only serves to show that we can infer, and only infer, from our evidence that Thucydides had both economic and familial interests in Thrace.

Thrace occupies a significant geographic space both political and strategic in the fifth century BC. Earlier in his history, Thucydides informs his readers of the importance of Sitalces, king of Odrysia, for Athens (2.29, 2.67). In the summer of 431, Athens arranged an alliance with Sitalces. The aim of the alliance was to use Sitalces as a check against Perdiccas and certain cities in Thrace. To sweeten the deal, the Athenians granted citizenship to Sitalces' son.

In the summer of 430/429, Thucydides tells us (2.67), the Spartans wanted to form an alliance with the Persian king in order to aid in their fight against Athens. The Spartan delegation hoped to negotiate through Pharnaces, son of

16 Thucydides discusses the exile at 5.26, but never mentions Thrace. See Zahrnt (2006a) on Macedonia and Thrace in Thucydides; Finley (1942) 1–17.

17 Finley (1942) 9 is right to call the attribution of Thucydides as descended of a Thracian king “irresistible.”

18 Busolt (1893) 625 on Thucydides' exile and confiscation of property.

19 Marcellinus (14 and 19) writes that Thucydides got property from a rich wife in Thrace.

the Persian satrap Pharnabazus. The Spartans, led by the Corinthian Aristeus, opted for the land route to Asia through Thrace. They hoped to convince Sitalces along the way to break off his alliance with Athens and send a land army to aid the Potidaeans, then under siege by Athens. The Athenian ambassadors and Sadocus (the son of Sitalces and a newly made Athenian citizen), circumvented the Spartan diplomats. Under the guise of offering aid to Aristeus and the Spartans, Sadocus delivered up the group to the Athenian envoys. The Spartans were taken prisoner and transported to Athens. The Athenians, fearing Aristeus and the Spartans might do more harm in Potidaea and Thrace if released, executed them all. Without any type of trial, they were all put to death, their bodies thrown into a pit.

Thucydides' larger discussion of Thrace and Macedonia (2.95–101) tells us much about his use of geography, his assessment of his audience and its geographic knowledge. The setting is the beginning of the winter of 429/28. Sitalces, allied with Athens, attempted to fulfill his obligation to the Athenians to put an end to the hostilities in the Chalcidice. He also took the opportunity to march against Perdiccas, king of Macedonia. The latter had previously agreed to help Athens in the campaign against the Chalcidice, but did not follow through. In addition, Perdiccas seems to have broken an agreement with Sitalces, although we are not told how or why. So, as Sitalces set out upon his expedition to achieve his two-fold goal, he took with him Amyntas, the son of the exiled Philip of Macedonia, with the intention of displacing Perdiccas as king.

Combining geography and ethnography, Thucydides sees the kingdom of Sitalces and the Odrysians in terms of landmarks and the peoples subject to the king (2.96.1):

[Sitalces] mustered troops starting first with the Odrysians who live this side of the Haemus and Rhodope Mountains of Thrace as far as the Black Sea and the Hellespont. Next are those Getae settled this side of the Istrias River all the way down to the Black Sea.

If we readers are familiar with such reference points as the Haemus and Rhodope mountains, as well as the course of the Danube and the location of the Black Sea, then we know with relative certainty where the central source of Sitalces' power lay: with the Odrysians and other Thracian tribes inhabiting the valley between these mountains, extending down the plain to the Black Sea. Further, the king can call upon the help of other peoples to the north, the Getae in particular. These people border on the Scythians, a group with whom Sitalces does not have such an association. The very mention of the Getae and

especially the Scythians, a people made legendary by their successful encounter with Darius, Great King of Persia (as all readers of Herodotus knew), adds a dimension to the exotic and powerful image Thucydides hopes to convey. Sitalces continued the call to arms (2.96.2–3):

Next he called up the independent peoples, sword men, living in the hills of the mountains of Thrace. Called the Dii, most of them live on Rhodope. Some of the independent groups came of their own volition, others, persuaded by pay. He called up troops from the Agrianians, Laianians and other peoples living in Paionia far from his *arche*. He called them up as far as the Strymon which flows from Mt. Scombros through Agriania and Laeonia. His *arche* is bound here with the independent Paionians.

Here we learn that Sitalces can call upon the help of a variety of peoples including the Dii, the Agrianians and Paeonian Laeaeans, as well as other Paeonians. Thucydides locates various peoples: the Dii live on Mt. Rhodope; others form the far reaches or border of the king's *arche*. The limits of his power are formed by a group of people, the Paeonians, situated somewhere along or just beyond the Strymon river valley. The Agrianian and Laeaeian peoples under obligation to Sitalces live near the headwaters of the Strymon as it flows from Mt. Scombros. Again, our reference points for borders are mountains, rivers, and peoples. If, as Thucydides' readers, we are familiar with these points of reference we can garner some idea—a mental map if you will—of this area which includes the Strymon river valley. The Strymon river valley along with the Agrianians and Laeaeans act as a western border of Sitalces' power (2.96.4):

The Treres and Tilataeans border the Triballi and the other independent peoples. They live north of Mt. Scombros along the Oscius River toward the setting sun. The Nestus and Hebros rivers flow there from a source in the mountains, a region vast and desolate near Rhodope.

Just as the Paeonians formed a western border beyond the Strymon, the Triballi form a northwestern border.²⁰ The Treres and Tilataeans are two groups bordering the Triballi. The Treres and Tilataeans dwell in the foothills north of Mt. Scombros, towards the west and the Oscius River. Finally, Thucydides tells

20 The Triballi show up in comic vein with rude behavior in Aristophanes' *Birds* 1529. Diodorus Siculus maintains that they are responsible for Sitalces' death in 424 and later raided Abdera in 376: 10.101, 15.36. Demosthenes condemns an Athenian youth club for calling themselves the Triballians: 1.4.39.

us that the source for the Oscius, Nestus and Hebrus rivers is the inhospitable mountains adjacent to Mt. Rhodope.

Thucydides, thus, describes the interior of Sitalces' realm as one bounded by the mountains to the south (the Rhodope), extending beyond the mountains to the north (Haemus), and butting up against peoples, the Getae, whom he can count in his muster, and the Scythians beyond them, whom he cannot. Further to the west, his realm extends through the mountains, some uninhabitable, including the Scombrus, which hold the source for the Strymon, Oscius, Hebrus and Nestus rivers. Peoples along the Oscius and Strymon form his northwestern and western bounds (the Treres, Tilataeans, Agrianians, and Laeaeans). Beyond these people are others, the Triballi and the independent Paeonians, whose services Sitalces cannot lay claim to.

After describing the interior nature of Sitalces' *arche*, Thucydides offers an assessment of the spatial size of the realm (2.97). His territory extends from the city-state of Abdera, eastward along the coast to the Black Sea as far north as the Danube. The distance, if traversed by sea, took a merchant ship four days and four nights. A man "travelling light" could make the trip in eleven days by the shortest route (2.97.1). From Byzantium moving inland to the Laeaeans and the Strymon—the farthest reach of Sitalces' power moving west from Byzantium—was a trip of thirteen days for a man "travelling light."

If we take Herodotus' estimates for the modes of travel described by Thucydides we can come close to the actual distances represented. Herodotus (4.61) maintains that a merchant vessel can cover 700 stades by day and 600 stades by night. With this reckoning, Thucydides' trip from Abdera to the Danube would be about 5200 stades or approximately 560 miles. This estimate for the sea route seems reasonable, but given the troublesome currents in the Hellespont, one might have to adjust.²¹ The overland coastal route takes eleven days. Herodotus tells us that an unencumbered man can travel 200 stades a day (4.101); this is approximately 22–23 miles per day, or 250 miles total.

Thucydides tells us that the march against Macedonia started out from the Odrysian heartland, between the Rhodope and Haemus mountains, and proceeded toward Macedonia across the uninhabited range of Mt. Cercine, the boundary between the Sintians and the Paeonians.²² To continue our mental map of the Odrysians and their route, we must recall the location of the Paeonians, and the uninhabited range of mountains conjoined to the

21 Gomme (1956) 242–43; Zahrnt (2006b) 613 supports that Thucydides has expert knowledge of Thrace, but doubts that his estimates of distance and travel time are secure.

22 Diodorus (12.50.30) offers an account of the march, relying extensively upon Thucydides.

Rhodope, for it is there that we locate Mt. Cercine and the frontier of Sitalces' realm (2.98.2–3).

Passing through the mountains of Odrysia with the Paeonians on the right and the Sintians and Maidians to the left, he reached Doberus in Paeonia. He made the passage, losing none of his men except to sickness. Many of the independent Thracians volunteered in hopes of loot. So many followed in fact that it was said they numbered some 150,000.

Sitalces descends from the mountains in a southwesterly direction toward Macedonia. Thucydides is careful to tell us precisely where tribes are located in relation to the moving army; mountains continue to serve as landmarks. That Sitalces lost no followers in battle on this march and actually augmented his forces along the way is important to Thucydides because it further emphasizes the stability of Sitalces' kingdom and leadership.

What follows in the narrative is a short description of Macedonia (2.99). Thucydides' presentation changes dramatically here. We are told simply that Macedonia is divided into three parts: Lower, Upper and Macedonia on the Sea. We find out more about those people exiled by Macedonian expansion than we do about Macedonia proper. For example, the Pierians from Pieria (wherever that is) were driven out and settled at the foot of Mt. Pangaeus at Phagres beyond the Strymon; the Boittiaeans from Boittiaea now live near the Chalcidicians along the Axios River in Paeonia; the Edonians now live in Mygdonia between the Axios and Strymon rivers; the Eordians were forced out of Eordia while the Amolpians surrendered Amolpia. Where these last two peoples originally lived and where Macedonian expansion pushed them remain a mystery.

Although we have a clear idea—a mental map—of the physical boundaries of the Odrysians, Thucydides' description of Macedonia leaves us without a clue.²³ Was Thucydides' audience clueless as well? Was Thucydides simply uninformed about Macedonia and its environs? Given Macedonia's importance throughout Greek history, the Persian Wars and especially the campaigning in Thessaly and Macedonia during the Peloponnesian War, such ignorance on Thucydides' part seems improbable. Rather, we should consider that Thucydides does not offer more precise geographic and ethnographic information about the Macedonians because his audience is already informed. All precise geographic reference is reserved for the march of Sitalces and breaks off abruptly once he crosses the Doberus into Macedonia. We are given the

23 Hammond (1972) 435–39.

names of the cities which Sitalces attacks, but not their location. Our last precise geographic reference comes when Thucydides tells us that Sitalces turned left, bypassing Pella, and then ravaged the Chalcidice and surrounding areas for eight days while he awaited reinforcements from Athens that never came (2.101). Cold, lack of food for his extraordinary army, and a last minute offer of a marriage alliance from Perdiccas—the Macedonian king's daughter to the Odrysian king's nephew—ended Sitalces' campaign and ambitions for Macedonia.

We can make some conclusions about this narrative "digression" and Thucydides' use of geography. First, Thucydides hopes to be as clear as possible when describing Sitalces' realm, the region of Thrace and its peoples. He provides landmarks that might be known to his readers as reference points. These include cities: Abdera, Byzantium, Pella. The Thracian coast was of vital importance for the collection of Athenian tribute with this tribute district providing more wealth to Delian league coffers than any other. Politicians, administrators, *strategoi*—all titles and responsibilities interchangeable among the leading men of Athens—needed familiarity with this area in order to be effective. The vital grain trade to the Black Sea insured that most sailors were familiar with the coastal areas at least. The rivers which Thucydides names—Strymon, Nestos, Hebrus, Danube and Oscius—all save one (the Oscius) can be found along the coastal trip to and from the Black Sea. The mountains named would be visible from the coast.

By such close attention to detail, Thucydides can evaluate and offer intelligence concerning a potential threat to Athenian hegemony while demonstrating his expertise for the region. The Odrysians maintain a powerful European force. Sitalces' march to the Chalcidice showed that his kingdom was united, stable and resourceful. Macedonia, on the other hand, is not yet united or stable. Perdiccas and his troops did not even venture to launch a counter attack against the Odrysian machine.

Finally, from a literary perspective, Thucydides' narrative description of the geography of the Odrysian kingdom sweeps toward the west and north as does the expedition into Macedonia. The geographic description starts with an interior group then moves easterly and outward to the Black Sea, to the north with the Getae and to the south with the Dii on Rhodope in a pinwheel or whirlwind fashion. Then Thucydides takes us west to Mt. Scombrus and the Strymon, then north to the Oscius. The geographic narrative leaves us near Mt. Scombrus and then picks up with the expedition as it spills over the Cercine and prepares to descend southwestward into Macedonia from Doberus. The impression is one of a methodical but ever quickening movement forward, from the beginning of the selection to the end. The piece reads as though it should be accompanied

by the music of Ravel's *Bolero*: a sweet and steady pace from the beginning at the center of Odrysian power, building into a thunderous crescendo at the limits of his power as he and his great army approach their aim.

From this limited investigation of the geography inherent in Thucydides' *History* we can draw some conclusions. From the Archaeology we find Thucydides using geographic and ethnographic elements in his analysis of the early history of the Greeks. The *polis* offers him particular opportunity to discuss the Greeks' understanding and use of resources, political organization and strategic location important for economic and military success. From the Sicilian Expedition we see the same themes regarding settlement and geography as well as the role of the polis in the history and culture of Sicily. In addition, Thucydides employs rhetoric regarding the far away nature of such an endeavor to foreshadow the disaster about to take place. We also come to understand that while the Athenian demos may have some clue about geography, sketching maps in the dirt of the agora, from Thucydides' perspective they are lost when it comes to the complexities of such campaigns. Just as they were once persuaded by Aristagoras' *pinax*, the Athenians can be persuaded by the romance of the unknown and far off places to engage in an enterprise fraught with risk. Finally, both the Athenian retreat at Sicily and Sitalces' campaign in Thrace offer Thucydides the opportunity to display the depth of his geographic knowledge for both locations. In both, geography adds to the authority and the vivid quality of the narrative. In both, we can "chart" the progress of a large body of men at arms in motion. The detail provided for Thrace, in particular, is of such quantity and quality that the readers could indeed devise their own maps in the dirt of the agora by following the written text. While such digressions can be tedious and seemingly secondary to the greater subject of a work such as Thucydides' *History*, they can, if compared, get us closer to understanding how the Greeks found their way, and in the process, inspired us to follow.²⁴

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An Anatolian Itinerary, 334–333 BC

F.S. Naiden

No matter how far down the wrong road you've gone, turn back.

—*Turkish proverb*

When Alexander III of Macedon left Europe for the first time, he did not have an adequate map of his destination, the Anatolian peninsula. He must have known about some Persian roads there. Herodotus (5.52) described one road, and Xenophon (*An.* 1.2.5–27) described another.¹ Thanks to the genre of the *periplous*, Alexander also knew of sea routes around Anatolia.² He knew little of other routes or roads. There was little to know about roads good enough to accommodate his 35,000 troops and thousands of carts, for few roads of this kind existed. No roads would be paved until the Roman era. To make matters more difficult, distances between places were expressed in typical travel times.³ Travelers' information was chronographic, not cartographic.

Partly because of the lack of roads, Anatolia had never come under one ruler. The Hittites held central Anatolia, and received tribute and military aid from dependent states lying in all directions, but they did not administer isolated parts of the peninsula. The empires of the Near East—Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian—controlled Cilicia from time to time, but little else. The Taurus and anti-Taurus usually served as their frontier. The Medes briefly ruled Anatolia east of the Halys, but it is not clear how firmly. On the other side of the Halys lay the kingdom of the Lydians, which did not include isolated regions like Caria. Only the successors to the Medes, the Achaemenid Persians, laid claim to the entire peninsula, and they did not administer all of it, either. Some regions belonged to dependent princes, the same as in the era of the Hittites. Isolated spots were practically independent. Uniform government would not

1 Discussion of these issues began with Kiepert (1857), followed by Ramsay (1890) 36–8, and others summarized in French (1998) 23, nn. 1–3. Descriptions of travels in western Anatolia are the author's, but descriptions of travel in the Antitaurus are Kenneth Harl's. Professor Harl is not responsible for any erroneous conclusions based on these reports.

2 E.g., Hektataios *FGrH* 1 F 196–268 of the *Periodos Gēs*.

3 Grote (1884) 8.316 n. 3; Leake (1824) 93–4, on conditions in 1800.

cover Anatolia until the Roman Principate. Only then would a good road network appear.

Alexander's famed surveyors, the *bematists*, could not help him. In the course of his 11-year expedition, they would record many exact locations and distances, but when they arrived in Anatolia this work lay before them.⁴ They had to turn to local informants and Persian traitors to learn about everything from seaports and passes to storehouses and fords. They could refer to Herodotus, but Alexander mostly did not use this road. He did not use the route described in the *Anabasis*, either.⁵

Alexander's point of departure, Abydos, was convenient to Europe, but otherwise ill-chosen. It was not a transport center to compare with the ports lying to the south on the Aegean, or the east on the Sea of Marmora. Alexander's eventual objective, Mesopotamia, lay to the east, yet he chose not to march eastwards. Instead he marched in a figure S: south to Lycia, the first curve in the S; then north to Gordium, the second curve; and then south again. He went all the way to the pass at the Cilician Gates, even though the direct route to Mesopotamia lay to the east, via the Antitaurus Mountains.

Other armies crossed Anatolia without any of these detours. They either started at a great coastal port and went to the Gates, or started at the Gates (or in the Antitaurus) and went to the coast. They moved in a mostly straight line. The earliest invader we know much about, Cyrus the Younger, crossed the peninsula in 401 BC towards Susa and Ecbatana, the capitals of the Persian Empire. He started at the coast (or at least most of his troops did), and then went from the transport center at Sardis towards Mesopotamia. After going southeast to the Maeander valley, the broadest route into the interior, and then up the valley to Celaenae, another transport center (Xen. *An.* 1.2.8), he went due east to Iconium and Dana (probably Tyana), and arrived at the Gates. All the way from Celaenae to the Gates, only one place, Dana, was sizable or rich. The other stations were sometimes wells beside the salt desert of south central Anatolia.⁶

4 Their accuracy: Strabo 11.8.9, Pl. *HN* 6.61–2, Engels (1978) app. 5.

5 Herodotus' route: French (1998) 15–20 with refs., and saying that the road used the Cilician Gates; but How and Wells (1928) 2.21–3, that it used a pass in the Antitaurus; Briant (2002) 358–59, allowing for both routes.

6 E.g., the well of Midas at Thymbrion (Xen. *An.* 1.2.13) and the springs at Tyraion, *TIB* 7: 409–11, s.v. *Tyraion*. On Dana as Tyana, Ramsay (1890) 42, Ruge (1948) 1640–41; *contra* Williams (1996) 291–301. The route up through the gates: Hamilton (1842) 2.198–205; *contra* Williams (1996) 303–7.

Cyrus sacrificed comfort to reach his goal quickly. Xenophon says he made the trip in 84 days.⁷

More invaders came after Alexander. In 610 BC, the Persians under emperor Shahin chose the shortest way through Anatolia, starting at the passes in the Antitaurus and heading westward to Chalcedon, facing Constantinople.⁸ The passes were more rugged than the Cilician Gates, but more convenient for an army coming out of Mesopotamia. Before besieging Constantinople in AD 715, the Arab general Sulayman led an army out of Syria and through the Gates all the way to Iconium, reversing Cyrus's route. Sulayman then turned northwest to Amorium before heading for the Byzantine capital.⁹

Alexander used the Cilician Gates, as Cyrus and the Arabs did, but otherwise followed a path of his own.¹⁰ Some reasons for his peculiar route are familiar to scholars: the king wanted to visit Troy, seize ports used by the Persian navy, visit Gordium, and go to Syria, near the Cilician Gates. This essay proposes additional reasons. Alexander responded to lack of information by conceiving Anatolia in epic terms and by pursuing objectives until the terrain stopped him. He took chances yet enjoyed corresponding good luck. Xenophon's *Anabasis* may have helped him. Homer's *Iliad* did not.

Alexander at the Northwest Corner of Anatolia

For an invader, Anatolia begins as a strip of sand or grass leading up mountains that block the way into a central plateau. On the western side, the Maeander and two other river valleys slice into the plateau. On the northern side, the best way inland passes through the Halys river valley. The southern side is mountainous and largely impenetrable. On the eastern side, the Taurus and Antitaurus mountain ranges wall off Anatolia from the rest of Asia. At some places, the coastal terrain narrows and disappears. At all four corners of the peninsula, the land crumples up, rises, and spills down to the water.

At the northwestern corner, where Alexander would land, little traversable land lay between the shore and marshes on one side, and Mount Ida on the

7 A trip of 36 *stathmoi*: 7 to Celaenae, 2 to Peltae, 5 to Castrou Pedion, 4 to Tyraion, 3 to Iconium, 9 to Dana, 6 to Tarsus. 49 days of rest: 30 at Celaenae, 3 at Peltae, 5 at Castrou Pedion, 3 at Tyraion, 3 at Iconium, 3 at Dana, 2 near the Gates.

8 Treadgold (1997) 240. In 669, an Arab army used the same route, Treadgold (1997) 320.

9 Lilie (1976) 123–25.

10 Hence the anonymous *Historia Alexandri* supposed that Alexander did not wish to move in an S-curve, and instead went coastwise (*Anonymi Historia Alexandri FGrH* 151 F 1.2).

other. Sea travel in this region was limited. The current in the Dardanelles compelled any fleet of transports to drift along until the boats came opposite the town of Abydos, the nearest anchorage on the Asian shore.¹¹ Alexander had no choice but to start there.

His next move might have been to go south, towards the valleys leading into the interior. The year before, Parmenio, one of Alexander's subordinates, had come to Abydos with an exploratory force and marched that direction. Parmenio's foray began well, with a rebellion against Persia at Cyzicus. The Persian commander in the region, Memnon of Rhodes, responded by exploiting interior lines. First, Memnon surprised Cyzicus by leading 5,000 men over mountain tracks along Mount Ida and arriving from the south rather than from the coast (Diod. Sic. 17.7.3, 8).¹² He must have followed one of three rivers that flow into the Sea of Marmora. He probably did not choose the Granicus, which lay farthest from Cyzicus, or the Aesepus, which was next, but the Mecistus. Once he reached it, he traveled downstream, then turned and headed along the strip of land Alexander would have to travel, that narrow strip between the sea and the mountainous ground. Then Memnon went back the same way and surprised Parmenio, who was besieging the unfriendly city of Pitane (Diod. Sic. 17.7.9). Parmenio seems not to have known about Memnon's route. If he did know, he may have thought this steep, 50-mile hike too much for troops.

When Alexander's turn came, in the spring of 334, he avoided the south. Instead he went west, to Troy, but with only a few men. The rest of the troops waited at Arisbe. When the royal tourist returned from Troy several days later, the whole army moved in the opposite direction, eastwards. Alexander's objective is unclear. A week's march would bring him to Dascylium, a Persian stronghold, but he might encounter the Persians before that.

He would have been glad to take the first big town on his way, Lampsacus, but he had to veer away from it, probably to avoid crossing a swift-flowing river.¹³ He must have sent a detachment there for food and help, but the Lampsacenes refused to cooperate, and Alexander did not stop and take the time to punish them (Paus. 6.18.3–4). At Parium, the next town, mountains squeezed out the coast, and so the army stayed inland (Arr. *Anab.* 1.12.6).¹⁴ The third town, Priapus, gave food and aid. Then the army entered a valley that stretched from

11 Leaf (1912) 400–403, wrote that to catch the current at the right spot, they would have to sail along the European coast in the opposite direction, then come about.

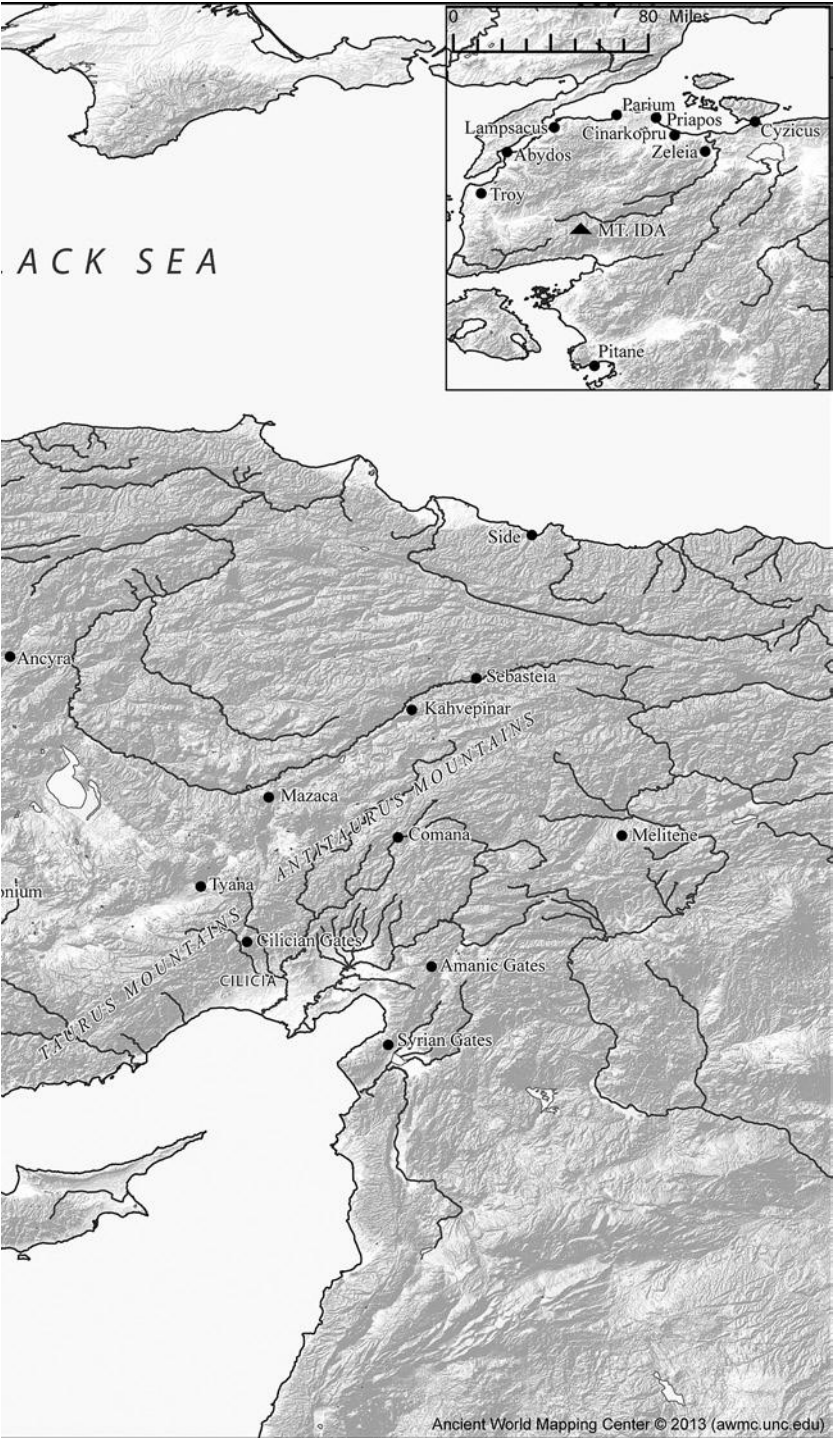
12 Attalus used the same route in 218 BC; Robert (1937) 188–89 and Wallbank (1957) 604.

13 The Berga Çay; Janke (1904) 128–29.

14 Judging by the route, where they pass the inland town of Colossae on the way to Hermetum.



MAP 11.1 *Alexander at the northwest corner of Anatolia, produced by the Ancient World*



the coast into the highlands. This was the plain of Adrastus, named after a Trojan prince killed by either Agamemnon or Patroclus. Ahead, a few miles north of Zeleia, lay another Trojan landmark, the tomb of another Memnon, an Assyrian general who had fought Achilles in the Trojan War (Paus. 10.31.6–7).¹⁵ Right in front of Alexander was the Granicus, the first of the three rivers flowing into the Sea of Marmora. The only possible bridge over this river was at Sidene, an upcountry town garrisoned by the Persians.¹⁶ There was probably just one bridge anywhere else in the region, at Zeleia beside the Aesepus, and the Persians were guarding it, too (Arr. *Anab.* 1.12.8). There were few fords. The river banks were mostly too steep.

Alexander needed a battle. If he won, he could insist that towns like Lampsacus feed his army. He could also seize the stores at Dascylium and humiliate the latter-day, Rhodian Memnon. After a victory, it would not matter that he had given the Persians a week to get ready—the two or three days he had spent at Troy, two more days marching to Lampsacus (Arr. *Anab.* 1.12.6), and two or three days after that.¹⁷

Back at Dascylium, Memnon marshaled his troops on the open ground nearby. Reinforcements arrived via a road that led to the highway across central Anatolia.¹⁸ Thanks to experience from hunting parties, he and the Persians knew the terrain.¹⁹ Some of the Persians may have owned estates in the river valleys.²⁰ If Alexander advanced, they could burn all the fields and orchards. The invaders would eventually starve (Arr. *Anab.* 1.12.9). They could not escape. The mountains and the marshes prevented that. They could not retreat.

15 On this eastern Memnon, Hdt. 5.53 (in Susa). Ktesias *FGrH* 688 F 1.22 (at Troy). See Drews (1965) 130.

16 Barth and Stauber (1996) no. 1097; Jeffery (1961) 372 no. 50. A tributary of the Granicus may have been bridged at the city of Didymateiche, which may be modern Dimetoka, but the army would still have to cross the Granicus afterwards. For Didymateiche, Hasluck (1909) 125 and Robert (1937) 195.

17 Once past Lampsacus, Janke (1904) 129, 140, needed to travel three days, not four or five, but he did not stop or slow down in order to communicate with coastal towns, as Alexander did (Arr. *Anab.* 1.12.7).

18 Dascylium had long been a military headquarters: Bakir (1995) 271–73; Bakir (2006) 66. Road southeast: Xen. *Hell* 1.4.1.

19 To judge from the reservation of land for hunting in local regulations, *Syll.* 279.4–5. A late fourth-century sarcophagus with a hunting scene, from modern Çan, on the Granicus about 20 miles upriver from the battlefield: Sevinç et al. (2001) 389, fig. 4.

20 Rose and Körpe (2005) 325, reporting tombs “undoubtedly associated with estates linked to the satrapal court at Daskyleion.”

Alexander's epic attitude prevented that. Begun in ignorance, Alexander's eastern march would end in defeat.

Thinking Memnon timid, the top Persian leaders overruled him and advanced to the Granicus.²¹ Their force of mercenary infantry and Persian cavalry deployed on the eastern side of the river, somewhere between the main tributary, the Koça Çay, and the marshes lining the coast. The banks on this stretch of the Granicus were often steep, as Arrian says (*Anab.* 1.14.4), and perhaps as much as five yards high, as is true in some places today. Perhaps the banks were partly wooded. Today many scrub oaks grow there. Although worthless otherwise, these trees are good for fuel. Today they make the banks impassible in some places; a nearby derelict village, Çınarköprü, is named after these trees.²² The water was deeper than the two to four feet now typical in the springtime. There must have been a ford or two, for there is a very shallow one now, about two miles from the modern shoreline, but the Persians could have blocked it with missile troops. The Persians had the advantage of a superior position, and so they waited for Alexander to approach from the west, cross the river, and attack them. The invaders would have to overcome the banks, the woods, the high water, and the shower of arrows or javelins.

Diodorus (17.18–9) reports the Macedonians responded to their predicament by crossing a ford in secret during the night and then giving battle on equal terms. Arrian (*Anab.* 1.16.4) states they responded by scaling the river bank.²³ By either guarding the ford or defending the bank, the Persians should have prevailed. Instead they gave way. After the battle, Alexander dispatched Parmenio, the previous year's loser, to Dascylium, for the supplies kept there. Alexander went back to Troy, Strabo says, and communed with Achilles and Agamemnon, this time in thanks.²⁴ He had defeated his own Memnon, and he had done it in the Troad, the same as the Achilles in Homer. If he regretted his invasion route, he expressed this feeling by giving heroic honors to 25 cavalrymen who had died in the Granicus (or, as Arr. *Anab.* 1.16.4 would have it, while

21 Perhaps on orders from Darius, Justin 11.6.8.

22 At this village, 9 miles from the sea, but less than half a mile from the confluence of the Granicus and the Koça Çay, is the only extant bridge on the lower Granicus; see Janke (1904) 139, fig. 20. Two recent autopsies of the battlefield find the banks to be less of an obstacle than stated above, provided that the battle took place below the confluence, Foss (1977), Harl (1989) 316–17.

23 Plut. *Alex.* 16.1–4, Polyæn 4.3.16. Most writers prefer Arrian's account, e.g., Badian (1977). See also Green (1991) 489–512, for a compromise, and Bosworth (1980) 116–17.

24 Strabo 13.1.26. Janke (1904) 146 supposes that he went south via the valley of the Mecistus, on one of the tracks Memnon may have used.

charging up the bank).²⁵ The king's luck had been as great as the bravery of these men.

The foe had used terrain knowledgeably, yet lost. Like Parmenio, Alexander had not used terrain so well, yet he had won. He now possessed a smidgen of Anatolia.

Alexander at the Southwest Corner

The victory at the Granicus gave the Macedonians one more chance to do what Parmenio wanted to do, and go south. From there, they would have their pick of the two routes across Anatolia: the central route through Gordium, Ancyra, and the Antitaurus (the route of the Persians under Shahin), and the southern route through Celaenae and other towns to the Cilician Gates. The central route had long jumps between storehouses and wells, and ended in the wilds of the Antitaurus, but it was feasible for an army that moved steadily. The quicker southern route bordered a desert that made food and water scarce. Both roads were probably wide enough for carts, but we do not know whether they were usually wide enough for ten soldiers abreast, as near Gordium.²⁶

Alexander took neither route. Instead he commenced his S-curve by attacking Persian naval bases on the Anatolian coastal strip. Sticking to the shoreline, he seized Ephesus, Miletus, Halicarnassus, and other ports. Next he duplicated his advance on Dascylium with an advance on Sardis, the transport center in the southwest. Celaenae should have been the next target, just as it was for Cyrus. Since he wished to seize ports, Alexander turned away from Celaenae and went south to deal with Lycia and Pamphylia. Then he traveled back inland to Celaenae. It was a perverse itinerary—an invitation to difficulties.

At first, the mountains blocked the way inland, while the Aegean islands were off-limits thanks to Persian naval patrols. When the army reached Miletus, this port held out for a time, hoping for a Persian rescue. When the army reached the next port, Halicarnassus, the Persian garrison refused to surrender. Some of the survivors of the Granicus battle had joined the garrison, and Alexander had to venture on without subduing them. At Sardis, his luck improved. This well-fortified inland post fell without a fight. Alexander's advance on this stronghold obeyed the topographical logic of the Anatolian peninsula: start at the coast and ascend a valley. When the army turned south, towards Lycia and Pamphylia, Alexander cast off the topographical logic, and took his army into

25 A few statues for infantry: Plut. *Alex.* 16.7.

26 Young (1963) 348–49 with fig. 2.

one of the crumpled corners of Anatolia. The land was so rugged that he left behind the baggage train and the heavy infantry. Parmenio took these troops north. Alexander and cavalry and light infantry headed towards the byways of the Southwest.

The isolated ports of the southwest were easier to take than Halicarnassus had been, but harder to reach. For the first time, the army built itself a road. Farther east, near Phaselis, below a mountain called the Ladder, there was no room for a road, and so the army marched along the beach, another first. Only favorable winds (Arr. *Anab.* 1.26.2) kept them from drowning. Some 50 miles farther, the beach disappeared—permanently. That had not happened before, either. Alexander had come far enough along the coast to reach the western end of the Taurus, the escarpment dividing Anatolia from the rest of Asia. For some 100 miles, there was no practicable way of traveling farther eastwards.²⁷ With the Taurus in front of him, and the sea beside him, Alexander was trapped, as he had been at the banks of the Granicus, but his predicament was now more serious, even though it did not involve the Persian Army.

In response, he headed north, through the mountains beyond Perge. First he tried a passage via the small and isolated city of Termissus. Termissus refused to let him pass, not because they sided with the Persians, but because they objected to any foreign army in their territory. Alexander laid siege to the place, but it took too long. Winter had come, and the army would starve all the quicker. He departed, but Arrian (*Anab.* 1.28.2) does not report that he marched past the city. Instead “he went on to Sagalassus,” a place he must have reached by going back the way he came. That was his first retreat. The lowest route, via the Kestros River, was so rough and narrow that he avoided it.²⁸

As the Macedonians trudged northwards, soldiers from Termissus shadowed them. Once the Macedonians reached Sagalassus, the troops from Termissus joined the local people in defending a ridge in front of the city. Although defeated, this force escaped into the mountains. That always infuriated Alexander, just as surrender always disarmed him. He killed all he could, took Sagalassus, and reached the plateau of Anatolia for the first time (Arr. *Anab.* 1.28.7–8). After ten months of fighting, he had traveled as far east as Cyrus had after a week’s march from Sardis.

As Alexander approached Celaenae, the mountains gave way to plains of olive trees, and to vineyards that produced a wine potable if mixed with honey.²⁹ Farther north, the road improved. Here, about halfway between Sardis

27 Between Side and the vicinity of later Seleuceia Tracheotis.

28 The choice of route: Stark (1958) 120.

29 Thonemann (2011) 54–5.

and Gordium, the army hit the central route across Anatolia. Parmenio had already passed this way. He had spent the winter in Gordium, and was waiting there when Alexander reached the city in the spring. No doubt Parmenio left behind bematists who would give Alexander his first accurate information about distances and conditions in Anatolia.

Gordium gave Alexander's men some rest and relaxation. Meanwhile, the king communed with some of his heroic predecessors. Just as he thought that the Assyrians had opposed his ancestor Achilles at Troy, he thought that a fellow Macedonian, Midas, had governed central Anatolia in defiance of Assyrians or other outsiders.³⁰ Since Gordium lay on the central route across Anatolia, reinforcements could reach him here, and so could ambassadors. Still, the stay at Gordium had its price. It put the army in a country without large towns—and, of course, without ports. Of the several wells named after Midas, the one in Ancyra, the next town on the road, was the last from which the army would drink (Paus. 1.4.5, Tz. *H.* 1.110–2).³¹ The troops cannot have failed to notice that Alexander secured them food at Ancyra by assigning the administration of the area to a foreigner, and they may have guessed that Cappadocians would later (Arr. *Anab.* 3.8.5) fight against them.³²

Before Gordium, the soldiers named several places after their leader—"Alexander's palisade," "Alexander's inn," and "Alexander's well."³³ After Gordium, they did not. Alexander's detours had left the army isolated, if not endangered. Perhaps Alexander cut the Gordian knot to improve his own morale as well as theirs.

Gordium also cost the army more time. Every day that the Macedonians spent in Anatolia was a day in which the Persians could rush troops to the Cilician Gates and block this exit from the peninsula. Once again, the invaders found themselves trapped. Except at the Gates, there was no southern route out of Anatolia, for the Taurus Mountains were impassible.³⁴ The alternative was to go east, through the more tortuous Antitaurus, a route of 215 miles at heights of up to 5,000 feet.

30 Macedonian Midas: Hdt. 8.138.2 and Euphorion F 35 as at Lightfoot (2009). A summary treatment: Roller (1983) and (1984).

31 The well at Thymbrion: Xen. *An.* 1.2.13.

32 Sabiktas (Arr. *An.* 2.4.2) or Abistamenes (Curt. 3.4.1). Cappadocian, Berve (1926) 2.690.

33 *Alexandrou charax* at Celaenae: Steph. Byz. s.v. *χάραξ* with Ruge (1941); *Alexandrou pandokeion* (unknown), App. *Mith.* 20 with Ruge (1941); and *Alexandri fontes* (somewhere in Phrygia); Livy 38.15.15, unless the text reads *Alandri fontes*; see Ramsay (1890) 143.

34 In the Roman period, roads well to the west of Tyana ran from Laranda to places in Cilicia, notably Seleucia Tracheotis, but there is no evidence these roads were suitable for an army in Alexander's time, *TIB* 5: 139–40.

One Corner to Go

Arrian and the other Alexander historians do not give details about the army's route beyond Ancyra. Modern guesses put the army either west of the Halys River or northeast of it, a difference of some 80 miles.³⁵ Either route gave Alexander time to acquaint himself with the Antitaurus.

Alexander may not have known whether a large army had ever traveled through these mountains. Hittite forces must have crossed the Antitaurus going east, but it not clear how the Hittite ruler who sacked Babylon, Muršili I, reached Mesopotamia.³⁶ Assyrian forces later crossed while going the other way, but we cannot tell just where they went, or how far into Anatolia they reached. Assyrian merchants often went to Mazaca, which they called Kanesh, but this commercial traffic does not demonstrate where a large army could go.³⁷ The merchants required only a track suitable for camels, horses, or donkeys. For Alexander, any speculation was moot. Even if knew about Assyrians at Troy, he did not know about Assyrian campaigns in the Antitaurus, or about Hittites.

Much later, in the Roman period, there were several military roads through the Antitaurus. A legion camped at Melitene, on the Euphrates, and received supplies on a road traveling more or less westwards, to Mazaca, and another, traveling northwestwards to Sebasteia. Centuries after that, the roads through the Antitaurus were good enough not only for the Persians but also for the First Crusade. Most of the Crusaders used them; only a detachment used the Cilician Gates.³⁸ Alexander's era was unpleasantly different. Melitene, an important center not only under the Romans, but earlier, in the time of the Hittites and Assyrians, was only a village.³⁹ Sebasteia may have been unoccupied.⁴⁰ One site on the route from Mazaca to Sebasteia, modern Kahvepinar, was occupied,

35 West of the Halys and also via Tyana, Engels (1978) 41–2; Bosworth (1988) 54 n. 92. East and north of the Halys and also via Mazaca: Hammond (1981) 43. Same route, but less far to the north: Seibert (1985) 62–3. The first view does not involve crossing the Halys, whereas the second and third views do.

36 Garstang (1943) 37, finding Hittite communications from Mazaca to Melitene “insecure”; *contra*, Garstang and Guernsey (1959) 40–41. Muršili: *ABC* 20 B r II, *MHT* 143–45.

37 Garstang (1942) 452–53; Forlanini (2006). Neo-Assyrian penetration of central Anatolia: Luckenbill (1926) 200–211. Tabalum as “Anatolia”: Hawkins (1994) 394; *contra*, Simons (1959) 61–2.

38 Asbridge (2004) 141–42.

39 Hawkins (2000) 284–86. As observed by Matiossian (2002) 84, it was not a satrapal capital.

40 No Median or Persian remains at the Hittite site at Topraktepe, or at any site in Adiyaman province, Blaylock et al. (1990) 112. See also *TIB* 3: 274–6, s.v. *Sebasteia*.

but it was small.⁴¹ The dean of Anatolian explorers, Ramsay, lists seven passes through the Antitaurus, but does not suggest that any of them were fit for armies in the fourth century BC.⁴² He reports only that the Romans improved two of them. If a Persian road traversed this region, travelers have found no sign of it.

Had Alexander chosen this route, he might have made a great topographical mistake. Instead he chose the Cilician Gates. That way, he would reach Syria, and once in Syria he would keep the Persians unsure where he would go next. He would also capture Persian naval bases in Phoenicia, finishing the job he had started on the Anatolian coast. He may have wanted Darius to attack him in a narrow battlefield, such as would be easy to find in Cilicia or Syria, rather than in a wide battlefield, such as would be difficult to avoid in Mesopotamia.

He may also have rejected the Antitaurus because of the attitude of his men. They knew the story of Xenophon's Ten Thousand, who crossed the Antitaurus sixty-seven years earlier. Xenophon's men had always been reluctant to march far into Asia. After following Cyrus to the Cilician Gates, they initially refused to go farther east. Two of their leaders deserted after the army entered Syria. Not long afterwards, his men refused to cross the Euphrates (Xen. *An.* 1.3.1, 1.4.6–7, 12). After reaching Mesopotamia, losing Cyrus, and deciding to return to Greece, they found themselves with no choice but to cross the Antitaurus from the south.

Book 4 of Xenophon's *Anabasis* tells how they approached via the foothills of northern Mesopotamia, a place of towns, some vineyards and cultivated fields, and some roads, including a Persian road that went south to Babylon. To escape pursuit, the troops had to avoid the route through the Cilician Gates and instead go north, into Armenia. Settlements became fewer, and interpreters were indispensable (Xen. *An.* 4.5.10, 34). The Greeks had to dismiss most of their servants and animals (Xen. *An.* 4.1.12–3). They used up their stores, and found themselves drinking Armenian beer through straws (Xen. *An.* 4.5.26–7). Because of harassment by the natives, advance felt like flight. Once the Greeks left the watershed of the Tigris, they went by some route that is now impossible to trace, and that must have been confusing at the time.⁴³

Xenophon noticed the effects of the ordeal. When the Greeks reached a plain after a week in the high country, they were relieved to see level ground (Xen. *An.* 4.3.1). A stretch of man-made road on the far side of a river looked so inviting that they crossed chest-high water to reach it (Xen. *An.* 4.3.5–6). After

41 Ökse (2000) 97–8.

42 Ramsay (1890) 55, 270–72.

43 Grote (1884) 8.390 n. 2; Anderson (1974) 134–36.

a night spent outdoors in a heavy snowfall, Xenophon had to set an example to the others by rousing himself and chopping wood for fuel (*Xen. An.* 4.4.12). After more snow, some men refused to move. They wanted to be left to die (*Xen. An.* 4.5.15). The Ten Thousand were mostly Peloponnesians, willing to endure the worst, and some of their officers were Spartans, willing to inflict it, yet some of the men gave up.

The ordeal did not end when the Greeks reached home, or defeated the last native opposition, or got slaves and animals. It ended when they were sure that they could escape from the mountains of eastern Anatolia—when, as Xenophon says,

On the fifth day [after leaving the town of Gymnias], they reached a mountain . . . called Theche. When the vanguard got to the top, there came a great shout. Xenophon and the rearguard heard it and thought more enemies ahead were attacking. Men from the country the Greeks had burned had been shadowing them, and the rearguard had killed and captured some by entrapping them When the shouting got louder and closer, the approaching men broke into a run towards the shouters, and the noise got louder as more men joined in. Xenophon thought something big was afoot, mounted his horse, summoned Lycius and the cavalry, and rode to give help. Soon they heard the soldiers shouting ‘The Sea! The Sea!’ and spreading the news. (*Xen. An.* 4.7.21–4).

Five more days of marching were required to reach the shore, but the troops already felt relief (*Xen. An.* 4.8.1, 22).⁴⁴ Soon they would be rid of the rocks, snow and ferruginous streams, and back in their element—beeches, rhododendrons, azaleas.

Two-fifths of Alexander’s 35,000 men were Greeks. Some of his Macedonians were from lower parts of the kingdom, where Olympus was the largest mountain. Even his other Balkan troops had never seen a range like the Antitaurus. None of these troops had ever been in a region without a Mediterranean or Black Sea outlet. Later, they would prove sturdy and bold, but in 334, the king could not be as sure of them as he would be later. The journey to the east might demoralize them.

If the choice of route was easy, the passage through the Cilician Gates was not. At the narrowest point, the roadway was two yards wide.⁴⁵ Cliffs rose more

44 The Assyrian attitude described by van Buylaere (2009) 301.

45 Janke (1904) 107, a space that would allow one wagon at a time, as at *Xen. An.* 1.2.21 (*hamaxitos*).

than a hundred yards overhead. A rockslide could have stopped the army. Arrian (*Anab.* 2.4.2–6) and Curtius Rufus (3.4.4, 11–2) cannot explain why the Persians did not take the trouble to block the Macedonians at this or some other suitable point.⁴⁶ Perhaps the Persians believed that they would have a chance to block them at the next pass to the south, in Syria, called the Syrian Gates, or at the next path to the east, the Cumanic Gates. Whatever the reason, Alexander had never been luckier.

Once Alexander passed the Gates, and descended into Cilicia, he fell deathly ill. He contracted his illness after a swim—perhaps his first swim since he landed in Anatolia, about 16 months before. As he lay sick, it occurred to him that his doctor might be paid to kill him. Then it occurred to him to trust the doctor.⁴⁷ Tens of thousands, after all, had trusted Alexander. So far as we can tell from the ancient sources, none of these men had died from the hazards of the journey as opposed to Persian resistance. The topographical obstacles had grown, but Alexander's luck had risen to the occasion.

Why had the Persians done so little to stop him? They may not have believed he could ford the Granicus or surmount the cliffs of Lycia. They may have been especially incredulous when he tried to thread the Cilician needle. If Alexander guessed their attitude, his boldness is easier to explain. He knew the landscape in the enemy's mind, and so he exploited it. Although they were well-informed, they were also overconfident. Although he was ill-informed, he was also shrewd. They were smug, he was willful, and he prevailed.

Up and Out

Between the spring of 334, when Alexander entered Anatolia, and the fall of 333, when he left, his bematists acquired accurate knowledge of most primary roads in the southern two-thirds of Anatolia, plus some secondary roads and other features of the landscape, and recorded this knowledge in their ample writings about the expedition.⁴⁸ In the following centuries, cartographic information about the peninsula continued to improve. The Seleucids improved

46 This or some other suitable point, Ramsay (1903) 381. Curt. 3.4.6–8 describes three passes, only one of which led to Cilicia. His notion that the defenders felt abandoned is absurd.

47 Arr. *Anab.* 2.4.7–11, Curt. 3.6.1–10, Diod. Sic. 17.31.4–6, Justin 11.8.3–9, Plut. *Alex.* 19.2–5. Comparison of the sources, Atkinson (1980) 1.163–9.

48 Especially Archelaus, who ended up as king of Cappadocia and wrote at least 13 books "On Rivers" (Plut. *de fluv.* 1.4).

knowledge of the southern route by founding several cities there.⁴⁹ In the late Roman period, another kind of road, the Pilgrim's road from eastern Anatolia to the Holy Land, filled in more of the landscape.⁵⁰ When Persian, Arab, and Crusader armies of the first millennium invaded, they could be confident of where armies could travel and how long the journey would take. Yet even a modern traveler could experience some of the hazards faced by Alexander and his men. A Victorian handbook gave the following itinerary for travel on horseback from Melitene to Kaisariyeh, ancient Mazaca.⁵¹ The column on the right presents all or most of what the handbook says about each of the stations on this route over the Antitaurus:

Hakim Khan, 14 hours, postal service	A poor village
Guhrun, 15 hours, no postal service	Ditto. Kurdish shepherds in vicinity
Manjelih, 9 hours, no horses	15 Armenian families. One church.
Ulash, 9 hours, post horses	2 salt works
Sivas, 6 hours, post horses	5,000 Turkish, 1,200 Armenian families. 2 bridges
Saghileh 12 hours, good roads	—
Gemerek 6 hours, good roads	—
Kaisariyeh 12 hours, good roads	5,000 Turkish houses, 2,500 Armenian, 500 Greek

Greeks were living only in Kaisariyeh, where the roads were “good” and Christians were numerous. The rest of the region was as alien to the Greeks as it had been to Alexander's men.

The journey from Melitene to Kaisariyeh may now be made by car or train, but for scholars and archaeologists wishing to identify ancient places described by writers like Ramsay obstacles remain. There are no recorded coordinates for these places, and distances are approximate, as they were for Xenophon. The visitor must get out, walk through what he hopes is the nearest village, and ask children out of school whether they have ever played around this or that spot. If they say “yes,” he will have to pay for a guide. Knowledge of Alexander's itinerary remains imperfect, as though millennia of progress had not occurred—as

49 Seleucid foundations: Laodicea, Apameia (near Celaenae), Nysa, Seleucia (i.e., Tralleis and Antiocheia).

50 Running from Constantinople to Nicomedia, Ancyra, and Tarsus, as in the *Antonine Itinerary*.

51 Murray (1854) 205–9.

though Anatolia had won in the end. It did not defeat Alexander. He left the peninsula with a better grasp of its hazards, and of its grandeur, than any other man.

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Visualizing Empire in Imperial Rome

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The Porticus Vipsania and its public world map commissioned by Agrippa (Plin. *HN* 3.17), both deplorably documented, have occasioned much debate. No one, however, has yet examined their topographical context, especially the monuments within a 400 m. radius (about a five-minute walk) of the Map that referenced Rome's empire and neighbors. Seven such "geographical" monuments are known, and they date from the Augustan period into the fourth century when the Vipsania is last attested.¹ Examined together with the Porticus and Map, they may provide a glimpse into the geographic mentality and perceptions of those living in or passing through Rome's north central plain divided by the Via Flaminia.² My investigation is only suggestive: numerous problems afflict my monuments and confound, for instance, both the exact location of the Porticus Vipsania (see below) and the existence of Agrippa's Map itself.³ But even deficient data for Agrippa's Map and other geographical displays in Rome's northern plain reveal shifting presentations, in a unique urban context, of Rome's territorial extent and power, moving generally from factual and exact references to allegorical and multivalent ones. My examination should both illuminate this poorly known sector of Rome,⁴ and suggest some ways in which imperial Rome's inhabitants and visitors conceived of and mentally organized space and geography.

1 By the *Regiones*; see below n. 13. "Geographical monuments" is shorthand for monuments referencing geography and the spatial extent of Rome's power.

2 My five-minute walking radius is a traditional unit for urban planning (e.g., <http://urbanlandscapes.info/2010/08/23/the-five-minute-walk-more-than-just-a-circle/>); cf. Lott (2004) 9–24. For my approach, see Favro and Johanson (2010); Favro (1996); Edwards (2003); Kitchin (1994) esp. 9; Gould and White (1986).

3 See Arnaud (2007–08), with earlier bibliography.

4 See Jolivet (2007); e.g., Coarelli (2007), 254–58.

Agrippa's Map and the Porticus Vipsania

Pliny the Elder is our major source for Agrippa's Map.⁵ When discussing Agrippa's measurements of Baetica that were incorrect in his own day, Pliny says:

Agrippam quidem in tanta viri diligentia praeterque in hoc opere cura, cum orbem terrarum urbi [mss. orbi] spectandum propositurus esset, errasse quis credat et cum eo Divum Augustum? is namque complexam eum porticum ex destinatione et commentariis M. Agrippae a sorore eius inchoatam peregit.

Indeed, who could believe that Agrippa, with that man's outstanding diligence and care concerning this work, when he was intending to set up (a map of) the whole world for viewing by the city, had made such a mistake, and with him, the Deified Augustus as well? For the latter completed the Porticus that Agrippa's sister began, which contained the map, in accordance with Marcus Agrippa's wishes and notes (*HN* 3.17).

Pliny insists on the Map's general accuracy. His words confirm that the Map was public and represented the whole world (*orbis terrarum*), not just the Roman one.⁶ The Map, as Nicolet and others have convincingly argued, formed part of a deliberately geographic understanding of Rome and its power in the Augustan era.⁷

The purpose Pliny attributes to Agrippa's Map was to be met by its display in a noteworthy, accessible building. This was the Porticus Vipsania, which took its name from Agrippa or from his sister Vipsania Polla.⁸ Cassius Dio notes that this porticus, in the Campus Agrippae, was still incomplete in 7 BC (55.8.3–5),⁹ and that it was among Agrippa's bequests to the people of Rome at his death in 12 BC (54.29.4).¹⁰ Agrippa's donations, *inter alia* the Pantheon and Aqua Virgo as well as the Porticus Vipsania and its Map, are east and west of the Via Flaminia in northern Rome,¹¹ with the Aqua Virgo actually spanning the street.

5 Strabo and others seem not to have used the Map (e.g., Dilke 1987, 209). Two late treatises, the *Divisio orbis terrarum* and the *Demensuratio provinciarum*, have been linked to Agrippa's Map but shed no light on it: Dilke (1987) 208; Rizzo (1994) 10; Arnaud (2007–08) 94–95. Talbert (2010a) 255, doubts we can know anything about the Map.

6 Nicolet (1991) e.g., 101, 110 (also arguing for *urbi* rather than the *orbi* of the mss.); Arnaud (2007–08) 82–83.

7 Nicolet (1991) 108–31, and passim; Smith (1988).

8 Plin. *HN* 6.139; Nicolet (1991) 99.

9 Nicolet (1991) 99 dates completion between 7 and 2 BC.

10 Roddaz (1984) 238–41, 246 stresses Agrippa's populism.

11 Tortorici (1990) treats only the donations west of the Flaminia.

(see fig. 12.1.) At the time this area, outside the Augustan *pomerium*, was largely un-monumentalized, with a few prestigious tombs, public space for military assemblies, and, surely, insubstantial housing for the poor.¹² Since the fourth-century Regionaries list “Porticus Vipsania” in Regio VII, Via Lata, this bequest of Agrippa is usually located east of the Via Flaminia.¹³

The Porticus survived until the fourth century, when the Regionaries list it in Rome’s Regio VII.¹⁴ Otherwise the Porticus Vipsania is explicitly documented only as bivouacking detachments of the Illyrian army in the unsettled winter of AD 68–69 (Plut. *Galba* 25, Tac. *Hist.* 1.31).¹⁵ It apparently survived, for Pliny’s references to the Map of Agrippa suggest no damage.¹⁶ Slightly later Martial boasts of seeing “Vipsanian laurels” from his house (at the northwest corner of the Quirinal; Mart. 1.108.3),¹⁷ and writes of constantly wet “Vipsanian columns” (Mart. 4.18.1–2). According to Coarelli and others, Martial’s lines refer to a many-columned and landscaped Porticus Vipsania adjacent to the Aqua Virgo, Agrippa’s aqueduct that crossed the central plain of Rome and ran northwest of the Quirinal.¹⁸

Coarelli identifies with the Porticus opulent remains found under Rome’s Galleria Sciarra, south of the Aqua Virgo after the aqueduct turned sharply

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- 12 *LTUR* 4.152 s.v. “Porticus Vipsania” (Coarelli) holds the land was largely unbuilt before the Augustan period; cf. Roddaz (1984) 252–53. The plain west of the Flaminia is better known: briefly, Coarelli (2008) 16–31.
 - 13 By Regionaries, also called the Regionary Catalogues, is meant the two documents redacted around the middle of the fourth century AD from a slightly earlier administrative source: Storey (2002) 411–13; *LTUR* 4.199, s.v. “Regiones Quattuordecim (Topografia)” (Palombi). The Campus Agrippae was also east of the Flaminia: *LTUR* 1.217, s.v. “Campus Agrippae” (Coarelli); Jolivet (2007) 108.
 - 14 Jolivet (2007) 105, 108, noting the garbled names Porticum Gypsiani (*Curiosum*) and Porticum Gypitiani (*Notitia*).
 - 15 This endorses the Porticus’ spacious layout with a large, open courtyard. Rodríguez Almeida (2001) 7 unpersuasively uses Plutarch to argue for a covered basilical portico.
 - 16 His testimony in the *HN*, completed in AD 77, also advises that the map survived the Fire of 64. East of the Via Flaminia (above, n. 13), it presumably also escaped the Fire of 80 (see Palmer 1976, 52).
 - 17 *LTUR* 4.152, s.v. “Porticus Vipsania”; *LTUR* 2.208–9, s.v. “domus: M. Valerius Martialis” (Rodríguez Almeida). Rodríguez Almeida (2001) 6–7 links Martial’s lines to the Campus Agrippae.
 - 18 The aqueduct undoubtedly proved useful to the troops camping in the Porticus in 68–69. *LTUR* 1.86, s.v. “Arcus Claudii (a. 43 d.C.)” (Rodríguez Almeida) and Rodríguez Almeida (2001) 7 tie Mart. 4.18.1–2 to the Arch of Claudius on the Via Flaminia, encouraging unconvincing location of the Porticus Vipsania west of the Via Flaminia.

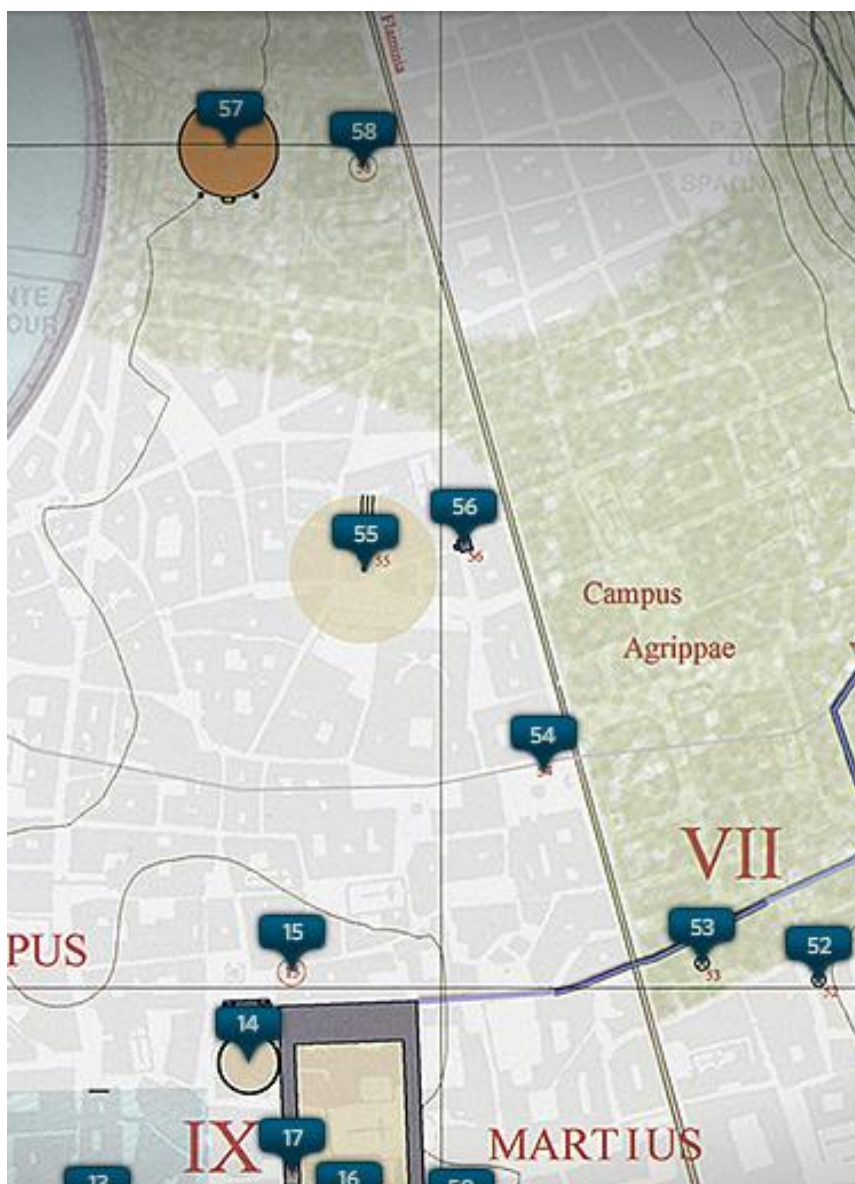


FIGURE 12.1 Northern Augustan Rome, as depicted on the Digital Augustan Rome map. This area was outside of Rome's pomerium and city walls in the Augustan period. The Porticus Vipsania is located at #53, south of the Aqua Virgo. The Pantheon is #14, 750 m. south of the Mausoleum of Augustus (#57), west of the rectangular Saepta Julia, and north of the Baths of Agrippa (not shown). The Ara Pacis (#56) is west of the Via Flaminia and east of the Horologium of Augustus (#55). Map © Digital Augustan Rome, kindness of D.G. Romano and N.L. Stapp.

southwest near the modern Trevi Fountain (see figs. 12.1 and 12.2).¹⁹ Fragments of cippolino Corinthian columns (original height ca. 8 m.), statue fragments, and brick-faced concrete remains indicate a spacious portico around which opened large rectangular rooms. The porticus, just south of peperino tufa pillars of the Aqua Virgo, is estimated to have been about 90 × 75 m. Its datable remains are from the second century AD, however, leading some to doubt this location for the Porticus Vipsania.²⁰ Yet other identifications suggested for the Vipsania, one east of the Via Flaminia at the Column of Marcus Aurelius,²¹ and one west of the Flaminia between the Arch of Claudius and the Arcus Novus,²² are implausible. The site across from the Aurelian Column is now known to be large apartment buildings of Hadrianic date.²³ Remains west of the Via Flaminia are not in Regio VII, Via Lata, and cannot attest the Porticus Vipsania.²⁴ In sum, although the remains at the Galleria Sciarra do not unequivocally attest Agrippa's Porticus Vipsania, their general location and layout fit our exiguous evidence. I thus place the Porticus Vipsania here.

The setting of the Porticus Vipsania and Map of Agrippa in Regio VII is noteworthy. The Map's location contrasts that of earlier known public maps in Rome, although no previous map was as ambitious as that of Agrippa.²⁵ Since the early second century BC various maps had been dedicated publicly in connection with specific achievements of triumphal men or the state. They were on the walls of temples, in the Forum, or on the Capitoline.²⁶ For example, in 174 BC Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus had a *forma* (image) of Sardinia dedicated to Jupiter on a *tabula* (panel) in the Temple of Mater Matuta in the Forum Boarium (Livy 41.28.10). Lucius Aemilius Paullus had earlier illustrated

19 *LTUR* 4.152, s.v. "Porticus Vipsania" (with description); also Roddaz (1984) 292.

20 E.g., <http://digitalaugustanrome.org/map/#/>, Map Entry 53 (accessed 2/5/12); Rodríguez Almeida (2001) 10–13.

21 See, e.g., Platner-Ashby (1929) 90, 430, s.vv. "Campus Agrippae" and "Porticus Vipsania" (positing the Porticus north of the Aqua Virgo).

22 Rodríguez Almeida (2001) 4–7, 10–13. He unpersuasively identifies the Vipsania with the Porticus Europae (mentioned only by Martial); *contra*: *LTUR* 4.121–22, s.v. "Porticus Europae" (Russo); Richardson (1992) 319–20, s.v. "Porticus Vipsania."

23 Gatti (1961); Priester (2002) 235–36; *LTUR* 4.152, s.v. "Porticus Vipsania" (another identification of the Porticus north of this *insula* is too far from the Aqua Virgo to be feasible).

24 *LTUR* 4.152, s.v. "Porticus Vipsania"; Laurenti (1992) 188.

25 Caesar's project to survey the known world seems not to have been achieved: Dilke (1987) 205–6. Wiseman (1992a) 38 holds that Agrippa's Map basically updated the results of Caesar's surveys.

26 Östenberg (2009a) 192–94, 197. Some other maps known from the 30s and 20s BC (Vitr. *De Arch.* 8.2.6; Prop. 4.3.37) seem not to have been public (cf. Nicolet 1991, 100).

his triumph over the Ligurians in 181 BC in a painting exhibited publicly ([Aur. Vict.] *De Vir. Ill.* 56). After 59 BC the Temple of Tellus on the Esquiline housed a painted map of Italy (Varro, *Rust.* 1.2.1). Triumphant commanders had a tradition of dedicating on the Capitoline painted or written *tabulae* documenting their martial deeds.²⁷ In contrast, Agrippa displayed his world map far from the city's traditional heart and outside of Rome's *pomerium*, in the area that would become Rome's Regio VII.²⁸

Regio VII, Via Lata, was one of the fourteen regions into which Augustus divided Rome in 7 BC. The name comes from the fourth-century Regionaries, when "Via Lata" designated the stretch of the Via Flaminia within the third-century AD Aurelian Walls.²⁹ Whatever Regio VII was originally called, the Via Flaminia provided its western edge.³⁰ While restoring Rome's roads Augustus accorded special prominence to the Flaminia, constructed most likely in 220 BC as a major artery from Rome north to Ariminum (Cass. Dio 53.22.1, *RG* 20.5, Suet. *Aug.* 30.1).³¹ The route of the Via Flaminia is well established, and within the city the Via del Corso retraces it as one of modern Rome's few straight long streets.³² The Porticus Vipsania seems not to have flanked this major road. But Augustus' renovation of the Via Flaminia, and the construction of the Ara Pacis and other Augustan and Agrippan monuments in the northern and north-central Campus Martius, heightened the prominence and use of the road and its environs, and opened Rome to the north.³³

Given the public purpose Pliny attributes to the Map and the analogy of the Porticus Liviae, a slightly later porticus in eastern Rome,³⁴ I assume that the Porticus Vipsania was in a residential area and accessible by neighborhood roads.³⁵ We have little information about north-central Rome east of the

27 Östenberg (2009a) 197–98.

28 Wiseman (1992a) 35–38 suggests that Caesar had intended to display his map in the Saepta, but that spot was substituted by the Porticus Vipsania, "just opposite" it. Cresci Marrone (1993) 216–22 remarks the lack of triumphal elements for Agrippa's Map.

29 *LTUR* 5.139, s.v. "Via Lata" (Patterson). See Robinson (1992) 9–13, and *LTUR* 4.197–99, s.v. "Regiones Quattuordecim (Storia)" (Fraschetti), on the 14 regions.

30 Muzzioli (1992) 179–89. Before the fourth century only numbers may have identified the regions: Robinson (1992) 10.

31 *LTUR* 5.135–37, s.v. "Via Flaminia" (Patterson).

32 Jolivet (2007) 108.

33 *LTUR* 5.136, s.v. "Via Flaminia," stressing the "funerary and triumphal elements" around the Augustan Via Flaminia, but see n. 28 above.

34 E.g., Lott (2004) 77 Fig. 6.

35 Relatively easy access, combined with the ability to be closed, must be key for the Porticus' use as a camp in 68–69.

Flaminia.³⁶ But this low-lying, flood-prone area probably always served the urban poor for makeshift housing. Noreña has argued from aqueducts serving Regio VII that during the Augustan period this region was then in the middle range of Rome's urban density.³⁷ Later Hadrianic ground elevations in the central Campus Martius west of the Via Flaminia, from north of the Ara Pacis south through the Pantheon's area, may have addressed the endemic flooding in Regio VII.³⁸ The Hadrianic apartments across from the (later) Column of Marcus Aurelius indicate dense inhabitation in Regio VII by the mid-second century AD.³⁹ By the fourth century, if we can judge from the Regionaries' lists of *insulae*, Regio VII was among Rome's most crowded areas.⁴⁰ The Map of Agrippa and its exhibition venue, the Porticus Vipsania, were in a non-elite quarter near a major artery into Rome.

The Map, and the Vipsania, must have been sizable. Many have worked to reconstruct the general appearance of Agrippa's Map, which was painted or incised on stone.⁴¹ It seems to have had flat sections of maps comprising 24 "regions." Nineteen may have corresponded to the *orbis Romanus* and often use the geographical divisions of Rome's provinces. Five others may have made up the rest of the *oikoumene*, including the Caspian Sea, Mesopotamia, India, the land of the Ethiopians, and upper Egypt.⁴² The Map emphasized coastlines and mentioned only the most important rivers; it underestimated the northernmost world beyond the Danube and the Rhine.

It is usually agreed that the Map had a generally rectangular shape.⁴³ Many have suggested it was on one wall,⁴⁴ with north or south at the top.⁴⁵

36 Lanciani, *FUR*, Pl. 21, shows one Roman street (perpendicular to the Flaminia) under Via Piombo, south of our area; Gatti (1989) 84 Pl. 1 (the basis of our fig. 12.2), shows another just north of the Arcus Novus.

37 Noreña (2006) 100–1.

38 Liability to flooding: Aldrete (2007) Figs. 1.7–9 (Augustan period). Hadrianic work: Boatwright (1987) 64–73; Boatwright (2010) 186–87.

39 Boatwright (2010) 187, 197; also, n. 23 above.

40 Jolivet (2007) 105 calculates that Via Lata's 3805 *insulae* made for 32.9 *insulae*/ha, making it the second densest of Rome's 14 regions (for the Regionaries' term *insula*: e.g., Storey (2002) and bibliography in Jolivet (2007) 103 n. 1). The 12 (*Curiosum*) or 14 (*Notitia*) sites listed for Regio VII is about the median of the 14 regions: Jolivet (2007) 104–5.

41 E.g., and with bibliography: Nicolet (1991) 101–8; Troussset (1993); Dilke (1987) 207–9.

42 See Nicolet (1991) 102.

43 It was not an itinerary map (e.g., the Peutinger Map) or a circular one: Troussset (1993); Dilke (1987) 208; Nicolet (1991) 104–5.

44 Cf. the late third-century map at Gallic Augustodunum (modern Autun), *Pan. Lat.* 9(4).20.2.–21.3 (Mynors); Talbert (2010b) 138.

45 See Nicolet (1991) 108; Dilke (1987) 208.

In this case it would have been quite large: some have tendered ca. 60 feet long by 40 ft. wide, on a base 16 feet high.⁴⁶ Troussel, however, pointing out that this format would render Rome and its empire as unsatisfactorily small, proposes grouping the components on three walls of a room.⁴⁷ One wall (to the viewer's left) would depict Europe, stretching up to Germania; one (facing the viewer), Asia and beyond, with India at the top; and the third (on the viewer's right), Africa, Egypt, and the land of the Ethiopians (at top). Troussel's proposal places at each wall's top the least-known lands of that area, orienting the three walls north, east, and south respectively. Although this layout would be disorienting to the viewer, the general composition suits the Porticus Vipsania.⁴⁸

The symbolic and political aim of Agrippa's Map, "to show the entire world to the *urbs*" (Plin. *HN* 3.17), was furthered by geographical notation on the Map.⁴⁹ But the Map must have been difficult to read and understand, especially at first sight.⁵⁰ Further, its information was unchanging: Pliny the Elder notes more than once that some of its data were invalid in his day (e.g., *HN* 3.16–17, quoted above).⁵¹ Extra explanatory material may have been welcome to the Map's public purpose;⁵² in turn, the Map may have spurred viewers to question the place they and Rome held in this big world.⁵³

Both desires were met by Augustus' textual representation of Rome's world in the *Res Gestae*, installed some two decades later in front of the Mausoleum of Augustus near the Tiber River (see fig. 12.1.).⁵⁴ But the *Res Gestae* was an inscription, albeit with some geographical points enhanced by monuments:

46 Nicolet (1991) 108 considers this too large; see also Dilke (1987) 208. This size (from K. Müllenhoff) matches that of the Severan Marble Plan of Rome (n. 48 below).

47 Troussel (1993) 140–41; differently, e.g., Hänger (2007) 140–41.

48 Rodríguez Almeida (2001) 23–24 has all the Map's segments on one long wall of a basilica, corresponding less well with the design of a room opening off a porticus. The Severan Marble Plan of Rome (ca. 18.10 × 13 m., or ca. 60 × 43 ft.) was exhibited on one wall in the huge Templum Pacis: <http://formaurbis.stanford.edu/docs/FURmap.html>, accessed 7/11/12.

49 Nicolet (1991) 98–99, and 116 n. 10; Talbert (2010b) 137–38, 144; Roddaz (1984) 573–77.

50 See Talbert (2010b) 136; if it were 2–3 m. tall, as Dilke (1987) 208 suggests, graphic distortion would have been severe.

51 Nicolet (1991) 101.

52 Such as Agrippa's *commentarii* (e.g., Plin. *HN* 3.86). For their relationship to the Map, see Rizzo (1995); Arnaud (2007–08).

53 The purpose Arnaud (2007–08) 121 attributes to Agrippa's Map.

54 The date usually presumed for the composition of the *RG* is around 2 BC, but it was displayed only after AD 14 (Cooley 2009, 42–43).

for example, two Egyptian obelisks in front of the inscription's double set of bronze tablets, and the great Egyptian obelisk of Augustus' Horologium in north-central Campus Martius,⁵⁵ underscored claims about annexed Egypt (*RG* 27.1). Many illiterates could not read Augustus' dense inscribed text, especially the 55 geographical or ethnic names in the long section detailing Augustus' territorial gains and geo-political activities (*RG* 26–33).⁵⁶ Further, its display in front of Augustus' tomb was over 900 m. from the Porticus Vipsania; the minimal 10-minute walk between the two monuments argues against simple cross-referencing. To assay cognitive maps among Rome's inhabitants and visitors, we should consider geographical monuments closer to the Porticus Vipsania.

Geographical Monuments Near the Porticus Vipsania

In the next three centuries seven monuments referencing geography and the extent of Rome's world were built within a 5-minute walk of the Porticus Vipsania (see fig. 12.2.).⁵⁷ By proximity to the Porticus, they are the (Augustan) Catabulum (perhaps adjacent, or ca. 160 m. distant); the Arch of Claudius over the Via Flaminia (ca. 105 m. away); an Antonine arch and the Hadrianeum (ca. 140 and 220 m. distant, respectively); the early fourth-century Arcus Novus (some 250 m. away); the Column of Marcus Aurelius (ca. 270 m. distant); and the Neronian equestrian statue of Tiridates, the *Equus Tiridatis regis Armeniorum* (located 240 or 315 m. away).⁵⁸ The monuments present numerous problems, including identification of reliefs associated with some of them.

55 See, e.g., Cooley (2009) 6. For the Horologium, see Houston's chapter in this volume.

56 Nicolet (1991) 16–21. Suggesting the need for illustrations, he argues that many names “had to be relatively familiar to most Romans, although whether they could place them accurately is another matter” (Nicolet 1991, 21; cf. Östenberg 2009b, 468–69; Gould and White 1986, 82–120). Smith (1988) 74–75 submits that various lists in Augustan Rome of conquered and unconquered peoples reached the low hundreds. Literature also frequently cited geography.

57 I do not discuss the Column of Trajan, ca. 550 m. distant; images of non-Romans on the Ara Pacis, some 500 m. away (processional friezes: Rose 1990; Kuttner 1995, 100–105; Bartman 2011, 229–30; inner altar: Smith 1988, 72–73; Liverani 1995, 220–21); or the Isaeum et Serapeum near the Saepta Julia.

58 Approximate distances are calculated from Google Earth data and account for known streets and buildings.

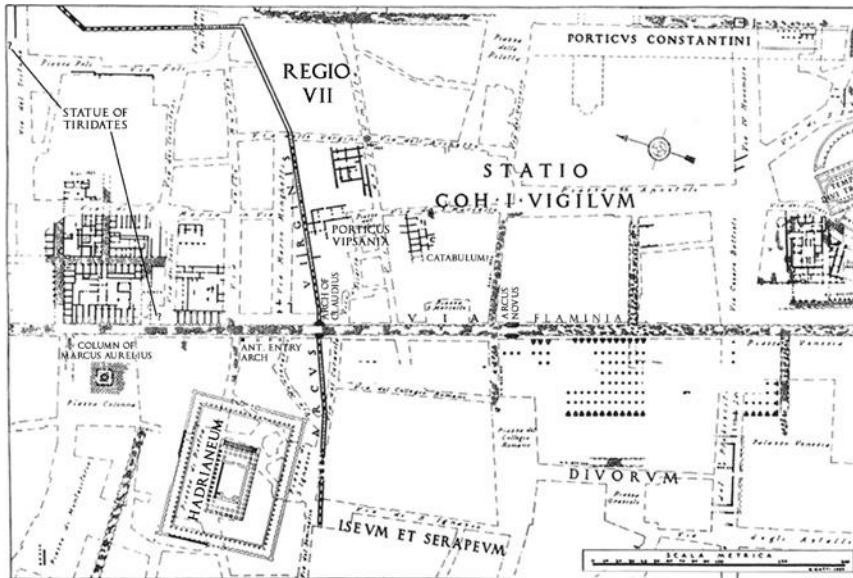


FIGURE 12.2 North-central Rome along the southern stretch of the Via Flaminia (Via Lata), imperial period (note that north is to the left). The probable location of the Porticus Vipsania is south of the Aqua Virgo ("Arcus Virginis"). Also marked on this map are the Catabulum (south of the Vipsania); the Arch of Claudius and the Arcus Novus (both spanning the Via Flaminia); the Hadrianeum, the Antonine arch opening towards it from the Via Flaminia, and the Column of Marcus Aurelius (all west of the Via Flaminia); and two possible sites of the (Equestrian) Statue of Tiridates, east of the Via Flaminia in Regio VII, Via Lata. Plan after G. Gatti, *Topografia ed edilizia di Roma antica* (Rome 1989) 84 Pl. 1, originally published 1944.

Some monuments featured reliefs depicting women in non-Roman dress and with various attributes, a type often termed "ethnic personification."⁵⁹ The figures are usually understood as representing Rome's provinces, subject peoples/nations, subject cities, or the like.⁶⁰ Such images were traditional in Roman triumphs,⁶¹ although Ovid notes observers could puzzle over specific identifications in spite of placards and other clarifications (*Ov. Ars Am.* 1.219–26).⁶² From about 100 BC, Roman coins included ethnic or geographic personifica-

59 For the historiography of this type of Roman relief, pioneered by Toynbee (1934), see Kuttner (1995) 69–93; Hughes (2009) 1–11.

60 Ostrowski (1990); *contra* Liverani (1995) 230–33 (*nationes*, not provinces).

61 Östenberg (2009a) 199–200 argues that triumphal processions did not display captured cities and towns as captive female personifications.

62 See Östenberg (2009b).

tions, sometimes with legends, with three especially impressive series minted under Hadrian.⁶³ In the Julio-Claudian Sebasteion at Aphrodisias, which Smith has argued was modeled on an Augustan prototype at Rome, inscribed bases identified large-scale relief personifications of *ethne* or *nationes*, also distinguished by clothes and diverse attributes.⁶⁴ Smith and others have pointed to the diffusion of such images in Rome from the time of Pompey's theater-complex in 55 BC.⁶⁵ Ethnic and geographical personifications were familiar in imperial Rome, even if the precise identity of any figure was debatable. They contrast the meticulousness of Agrippa's Map.

Our earliest monument, however, the Catabulum, has no reliefs and is known only from late hagiographic sources suggesting its location under the present S. Marcello al Corso. The Catabulum was the stable of Rome's *cursus publicus*, established under Augustus to provide infrastructure for officials traveling on state business throughout the empire.⁶⁶ If the stable were under the northeast part of the church, the location of earliest remains here, it was adjacent to the Porticus; if along the Via Flaminia, as Richardson has suggested, it was ca. 160 m. away.⁶⁷ The location near Agrippa's Map was apt, since the Catabulum symbolized Rome's reach through its road system.⁶⁸ We cannot know whether the building contained *itineraria picta* or some other illustration of Rome's roads that might correspond with Agrippa's Map. The purpose of this administrative center, however, argues that whatever geography it presented was precise.⁶⁹

63 *RRC* 326.2 (ca. 101 BC): Marius with a naked male kneeling Gaul; *RRC* 468.1 (Caesarian): abject male and female captives back to back. For the Hadrianic coins, see Toynbee (1934); Strack (1933); Hughes (2009) 4–5. Cody (2003) 104–5, with bibliography, delineates four iconographic groups on coins, from most abject (*provincia capta*, “captive province” appears in mourning or with the bound hands of a prisoner) to a state of near equality (*provincia fidelis*, “faithful province” personification stands next to, and often interacts with, representative of Rome). No large-scale relief I treat is the *capta* type.

64 Smith (1988).

65 For the confusion of the 14 marble figures of “nations” by Coponius at the Theater of Pompey with the Augustan Porticus ad Nationes, see *LTUR* 4.138–39, s.v. “Porticus ad nationes” (Coarelli); *LTUR* 4.148–49, s.v. “Porticus Pompei” (Gros); Smith (1988) 72; Liverani (1995) 245; Richardson (1992) 316–17, s.v. “Porticus Ad Nationes.”

66 *LTUR* 1.256, s.v. “Catabulum” (Coarelli); Kolb (2001).

67 For the remains, see *CBCR* II 1.206, 213–14; *LTUR* 1.256, s.v. “Catabulum”; Richardson (1992) 79, s.v. “Catabulum.”

68 *LTUR* 4.151–53, s.v. “Porticus Vipsania”; *LTUR* 5.135–36, s.v. “Via Flaminia.” Coarelli in *LTUR* 1.256 proposes that the adjacent Porticus Vipsania was the office of the *cursus publicus*.

69 E.g., Dilke (1987) 278 stresses Roman state interest in geographic precision; see also Talbert (2010a).

The Arch of Claudius, constructed in AD 51–52 some 105 m. from the Porticus Vipsania, may have had specific and allegorical geographic references alike. Claudius' Arch was a reworking of part of the Aqua Virgo, Agrippa's aqueduct inaugurated in 19 BC to provide water to (the later) regions VII, IX (Circus Flaminius), and XIV (Transtiberim).⁷⁰ The aqueduct ran above ground in Rome, with part flanking the (later) Porticus Vipsania and part cutting across the Via Flaminia at the modern Via del Caravita, before ending along the Saepta Julia (Frontin. *Aq.* 22). Claudius restored the Aqua Virgo (*CIL* VI 1252 = *ILS* 205),⁷¹ and in AD 51–52, by decree of the senate and people of Rome, the aqueduct's span over the Via Flaminia was remodeled to commemorate Claudius' British conquest of 43.⁷² That span is now called the Arch of Claudius.

Its dedication to Claudius (*CIL* VI 920a = *ILS* 216), preserved only in part, has been plausibly reconstructed as: "The Senate and the People of Rome [dedicate this] to Claudius [with titulature from 51–52], because he received the capitulation of [multiple] kings of the Britons, conquered without any loss [of Roman life], and was the first to reduce barbaric tribes [across the ocean] to the authority of the Roman people."⁷³ The specification of Britain or Britons is clear, and echoed by Claudian coins representing an arch whose attic features DE BRITANN, trophies, and an equestrian statue of Claudius.⁷⁴

70 *LTUR* 1.72–73, s.v. "aqua Virgo" (Le Pera); Lloyd (1979) 195–96, 203; Evans (1982) 408; Noreña (2006) 101.

71 See Suet. *Cal.* 21, and *LTUR* 1.86, s.v. "Arcus Claudii."

72 *LTUR* 1.85–86, s.v. "Arcus Claudii." See Suet. *Claud.* 17, Tac. *Ann.* 12.35–36, Cass. Dio 40.19–20 and 60.22.1. La Rocca (1994) 268–69 and Barrett (1991) 15–17 discuss the date. The arch's dedication to Claudius was found in this vicinity.

73 *Ti. Clau[dio Drusi f. Cai]sari / Augu[sto Germani]co / pontific[i maximo, trib. potes]tat. xi, / cos. v, im[p. xxii, cens(ori), patri pa]triai //⁵ senatus po[pulusque] Ro[manus, q]uod / reges Brit[annorum xi devictos sine] / ulla iactur[a in deditionem acceperit] / gentesque b[arbaras trans Oceanum] / primus in dici[onem populi Romani redegerit]. Barrett (1991) 12–15: much of the inscription (including the "eleven kings" found in many translations) is Mommsen's restoration made on the basis of three fragments preserved only in drawings. But BRIT is on the stone, and has been expanded both as above, and as BRIT[anniai], "of Britain" (Barrett 1991, 10–12). The restoration of *trans Oceanum*, "across the ocean," derives from the stress on Oceanus in other sources for the British campaign: Östenberg (2009a) 235.*

74 For coins, see *BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* 1, *Claud.* 29, 32–35, 49–50; *RIC*², *Claud.* 30, 33–34 (AD 46–47), 44–45 (AD 49–50) and *LTUR* 1.85, s.v. "Arcus Claudii." Dedicatory inscriptions found nearby commemorate Antonia, Agrippina, and Nero (*CIL* VI 921a = *ILS* 222; see Barrett 1991, 7–8), but Rose (1997) 113–15, #42 rejects their attribution to the arch, in part because of size.



FIGURE 12.3 *Reliefs associated with the Arch of Claudius and the Arcus Novus. These plaster casts in Rome's Museo della Civiltà Romana are from fragmentary reliefs now immured in the Villa Medici. From left to right: personification of Virtus, attending an emperor in military dress (and with a recut head); two standing ethnic personifications (the one to the right now represented only by an arm); a turreted ethnic personification, kneeling and looking up at a fragmentary Venus Genetrix who writes on a shield; the left side of the Venus Genetrix figure, flanked by another kneeling and turreted ethnic personification and by a winged Eros. Photo © D-DAI-ROM-74.763; see <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/reproduktion/3001295>.*

Various scholars have assigned to the Arch four fragmentary marble plaques (perhaps originally 1.80 m. H) with reliefs that were found in reused contexts around Rome and are now immured in the Villa Medici (see fig. 12.3.). They depict four women in “native” dress. Two, standing, perhaps once flanked the recut and fragmentary emperor in military costume, accompanied by a female personification of Virtus and now on a different panel; the other two ethnic personifications, wearing turreted crowns, kneel to either side of a Venus Genetrix figure who writes on a shield.⁷⁵ (The reliefs were reused in the Arcus Novus discussed below.) From their costumes La Rocca suggests that

75 Koeppel (1983) 78–79, 119–24; La Rocca (1994) 267–72; *contra*: Kleiner (1985) 59–62. Barrett (1991) also attributes to the arch a battle scene of barbarians and Romans.

the standing personifications represent Moesia and Thracia, and the kneeling ones, Hispania Citerior and Gallia Comata.⁷⁶ These ethnic personifications are not dejected and bound, but confident and self-assured, much like the other female figures on the panels.⁷⁷ The proximity of the personifications to the Porticus Vipsania has not been noted, nor has their incongruity with the rest of the Arch of Claudius.⁷⁸ The indeterminate, anodyne figures—were they once identified by painted legends?—surely contrasted the inscription's specification of Claudius' conquered British foes that was echoed by the arch's trophies. If these reliefs belonged to the Arch of Claudius, the Arch contained both factual and allegorical geographical references.⁷⁹

A slightly later monument with geographical significance, the *Equus Tiridatis regis Armeniorum* ("Horse of Tiridates, the King of the Armenians"), is attested only by the Regionaries' listing of it in Via Lata after the Porticus Vipsania.⁸⁰ The entry has encouraged its identification as an equestrian statue of Tiridates I, installed in Regio VII after Nero officially acknowledged and crowned Tiridates as the King of Armenia in AD 66.⁸¹ The appositional phrase "King of the Armenians" in the Regionaries suggests that this ethnic identification was on the statue base. Cassius Dio and Suetonius, who detail the visit of Tiridates to Rome, locate his crowning in the Roman Forum and note a related celebration in Pompey's theater (Cass. Dio 63.3–6, Suet. *Nero* 13, cf. Plin. *HN* 33.54). But they mention nothing that might explain the location of Tiridates' statue in Regio VII.⁸² If the statue were where *LTUR* suggests, between the modern Via di Propaganda and the Via del Tritone, it would have been some 315 m. from the Porticus Vipsania; alternatively, Richardson's proposal of the Galleria Colonna would place it about 240 m. northwest of the Porticus.⁸³ In either case,

76 La Rocca (1994) 267–72; Koeppel (1983) 78–79, 119–24.

77 La Rocca (1994) 270, 290, likens them to the Hadrianeum personifications (see below) and argues they represent Claudius' centralizing policy of raising the status of Rome's provinces equal to that of Italy. Smith (1988) e.g., 76 presumes similar Augustan images.

78 Other than mentioning the Roman concept of peace won through war, La Rocca (1994) downplays Britain's conquest.

79 Britain was not Roman when Agrippa's Map was created. Batty (2000) argues for intensification of geographical writing and knowledge in Claudian Rome.

80 In the *Notitia* it follows the Porticus Vipsania; the *Curiosum* lists it second after the Porticus: Jolivet (2007) 105–6. The *Curiosum* also gives its name as plural *Equos*.

81 Jolivet (2007) 112; *LTUR* 2.232, s.v. "Equus Tiridatis regis Armeniorum" (Papi).

82 Equestrian statues, rare in Rome, generally were located in the Forum Romanum or imperial fora: Richardson (1992) 144–46, s.v. "Equus"; Bergemann (1990) 16, 36, 41–43.

83 Above, n. 81; Richardson (1992) 145, s.v. "Equus Tiridatis Regis Armeniorum," locating it by its order in the Regionaries, but doubting its connection with Tiridates; I. Jolivet (2007) 113 cautions against over-emphasizing the order of monuments in the Regionaries.

the proximity of Agrippa's Map would have enhanced the equestrian statue's geographical resonance, emphasizing the powerful reach of Nero and Rome.

Less specific visual geographical references were made in two large Antonine monuments west of the Via Flaminia, the Hadrianeum and an arch between its precinct and Via Flaminia.⁸⁴ The Hadrianeum is some 220 m. from the Porticus Vipsania, and the arch even closer. The Hadrianeum, constructed by Antoninus Pius between 139 and 145, has extant twenty-two figured reliefs of Proconnesian marble (often called "province reliefs"),⁸⁵ complemented by reliefs depicting military trophies, ten of which survive (see fig. 12.4).⁸⁶ The almost life-sized personifications were likely exhibited on the attic of the peristyle around the temple.⁸⁷ They depict standing women distinguished by non-Roman clothing and attributes, but otherwise similar in their physiques and calm, harmonious faces.

Exact identifications are contested. Many generally follow Toynbee's 1934 suggestion that the figures personified provinces and other Roman geographical units,⁸⁸ though sometimes quarreling with individual identifications. But Hughes now argues that the figures are deliberately ambiguous. She stresses not only the difficulty ancient viewers would have had in identifying reliefs high above them, but also the general homogeneity of the personifications and the "improvisation" of their costumes and attributes.⁸⁹ Insisting on the trophy reliefs and on weaponry carried by some of the personifications, she holds that the females represent the subjugation of foreign peoples to Rome.⁹⁰ As opposed to the precise geographic import of Agrippa's Map, the ethnic personifications of the nearby Hadrianeum are generalized.

This is true also for the relief with non-Romans and Romans on a mid second-century AD arch between the Via Flaminia and the Hadrianeum.⁹¹

84 See Boatwright (2010) 171–77.

85 Full catalogue in Sapelli (1999) 28–82. Median size of the reliefs, most displayed at the Musei Capitolini and Palazzo Massimo in Rome and Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples, 1.35 × 2.00 m. Reliefs' findspots in Claridge (1999) 117–19.

86 Boatwright (2010) 173, with further references.

87 Hughes (2009) 2: each relief originally more than 2 m. tall; cf. Sapelli (1999) 28–82. See Claridge (1999) 121–25 for location, refuting other proposals (e.g., Toynbee 1934, 154–55, on podium). Hughes (2009) 4 and 8 accepts the attic location.

88 Toynbee (1934) 156–59; she saw these as embodying Hadrian's centralizing policy of raising the provinces equal to Italy and Rome.

89 Hughes (2009) esp. 13–16.

90 Hughes (2009) 17: the figures' elusiveness served "to stratify and subordinate the viewing population of the city" and perpetuate imperial elite control.

91 Boatwright (2010) 174, with earlier bibliography. The other panel commonly associated with this arch is the "Adventus Augusti" relief now in the Musei Capitolini.



FIGURE 12.4 “Province relief” and trophy relief from the Hadrianeum, as now displayed in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples. This restored ethnic personification has been identified as Phrygia or Bithynia. Photo by the author (2011).

This, the “Torlonia relief,”⁹² depicts (left) three barbarian men and a barbarian boy entreating a togate emperor (see fig. 12.5.). The emperor, now with a reused head of Lucius Verus, is attended by a personification of the Roman senate and another male, both in togas. The smaller, massed non-Romans, with the strong horizontals of their arms, contrast the tall figures they implore. The toga the emperor wears argues that the relief depicts a foreign embassy to the emperor in Rome, rather than the more common scene of a foreign foe’s capitulation on

92 Cafiero (1986) 15, 16, n. 27. Now 2.10 m. H, cut from a taller original.



FIGURE 12.5 “Torlonia relief” from the Antonine arch between the Via Flaminia and the Hadrianeum. “Barbarians” entreat in Rome a togate emperor, whose head of Lucius Verus is not original. The relief is now in the Torlonia Collection in Rome. Photo is from the plaster cast in the Museo della Civiltà Romana, and used by permission of Roma, Museo della Civiltà Romana (Archivio Fotografico del Museo della Civiltà Romana, prot. 1273/MC).

the battlefield.⁹³ The suppliants are presented simply as non-Roman “barbarians,” without geographic specificity. The relief, like the personifications in the nearby Hadrianeum, reflects a perception earlier expressed by Ovid, that the whole huge world was contained in the city Rome (*atque ingens orbis in urbe fuit*, Ov. *Ars Am.* 1.174).⁹⁴

Some 270 m. northwest of the Porticus Vipsania is the Column of Marcus Aurelius, whose decorative program is ostensibly devoted to the Marcomannic Wars fought from 166 to 180 near the Danube (see fig. 12.6).⁹⁵ The Column was

93 Cafiero (1986) 14–15.

94 Cf. Nicolet (1991) 114.

95 The Column is the focus of recent studies, including Pirson (1996); Scheid and Huet (2000); Coarelli (2008); Ferris (2009); Beckmann (2011).



FIGURE 12.6 *The Column of Marcus Aurelius, Scene LXXII showing the slaughter of “barbarians” by Roman forces on horseback and foot. Photo*
 © D-DAI-ROM-2011.0902; see <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/relief/29307072>.

oriented to the Via Flaminia, which it flanks.⁹⁶ It dates some fifty years after the entrance arch to the Hadrianeum,⁹⁷ but like the Torlonia relief it distinguishes non-Romans from Romans generically by clothing and attitude. On the Column non-Roman males are trousered, long-bearded barbarians, and non-Roman females disheveled, helpless women, often with their clothes in disarray.⁹⁸ Ferris has noted how on the Column of Marcus Aurelius non-Romans are rarely differentiated among themselves in terms of costume

96 Beckmann (2011) 48–49.

97 *Terminus ante quem* of 193 (n. 105 below), but see Jordan-Ruwe (1990) for conception in the rule of Marcus Aurelius.

98 See Zanker (2000). Pirson (1996) 155 remarks that the faces of the barbarians evince pain, fear, or terror, or are characterized as evil, contrasting the juvenile, smooth, or uncouth faces of the Romans that represent military virtues such as energy, resoluteness, and efficiency.

and equipment, and Pirson emphasizes their objectification as barbarians.⁹⁹ The column's base, originally about 10.5 m. tall, probably included a horizontal frieze showing the enemy submitting to Marcus Aurelius on a battlefield.¹⁰⁰ Most scenes on the 100-foot (29.6 m.) tall column portray Roman retaliations against defeated or fugitive foes, and the infrequent fighting scenes are unrealistic.¹⁰¹

It has proven impossible to read the spiral frieze as a historical narrative, even when juxtaposed to literary accounts of these wars that saw non-Romans invade deep within Roman territory.¹⁰² Geographical markers are rare, consisting mainly of the river god of the Danube overseeing Roman forces crossing the river in scene III.¹⁰³ Other out-sized figures—a personification of Victoria (scene LV), and the personifications of two “miracles” (“Miracle of the Thunderbolt” and “Miracle of the Rain,” scenes XI and XVI)—further distance the relief from objective reality.¹⁰⁴ The Column's lost dedicatory inscription may not have mentioned the wars, focusing instead on Marcus Aurelius and his wife Faustina.¹⁰⁵ In contrast to precise references known for the Map of Agrippa and Arch of Claudius, and presumable for the Catabulum and the equestrian statue of the King of the Armenians, geographic allusions of the Aurelian Column are generalized and essentialist, sensationally contrasting Roman and non-Roman.

My last geographic monument is the Arcus Novus. The Regionaries' citation of Arcus Novus in Regio VII, and the Chronographer of 354's assignation of this arch to Diocletian, have been linked to a marble arch that once spanned the Via Flaminia at the church of S. Maria in Via Lata, some 250 m. southwest of

99 Ferris (2009) 151–53; Pirson (1996).

100 Jordan-Ruwe (1990) 62 pl. 8.1; Boatwright (2010) 192–93; *contra*, Ferris (2009) 36–37.

101 Beckmann (2011) 150–52.

102 Ferris (2009) e.g., 81; Beckmann (2011) 133–55 (although admitting some historical details); Hölscher (2000).

103 See also Beckmann (2011) 143–45. Scene III of Trajan's Column (Ferris 2009, 59) similarly depicts a river god overseeing Roman forces crossing a bridge over the Danube. Ferris (2009) 153–57 notes the generalized depiction of non-Roman buildings on the Aurelian Column.

104 Beckmann (2011) 133, calls these miracles historical. The Victoria is inspired by the Victoria (scene LXXVIII) on the Column of Trajan: Beckmann (2011) 189, 194.

105 The inscription of its procurator Adrastus, providing a *terminus ante quem* of 193 for the Column (*CIL* VI 1585a, b = *ILS* 5920), identifies it as “the [hundred-foot] column of the [deified] Marcus and Faustina”: Boatwright (2010) 191–92. The inscription on the base of the Column of Trajan (*CIL* VI 960) does not mention the Dacian Wars.

the Porticus Vipsania.¹⁰⁶ The arch was destroyed in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but the remains found at its site include the four fragmentary reliefs discussed with the Arch of Claudius (see fig. 12.3.). Also attributed to the Arcus Novus are two bases, now in Florence's Boboli Gardens, depicting the Dioscuri, Victoria figures, and Roman soldiers in charge of bearded and trousered barbarian captives. These date stylistically to the Diocletianic period, as does the recut head of the emperor on one of the Claudian reliefs (fig. 12.3).¹⁰⁷ On one Claudian relief Venus Genetrix writes on a shield before her *Votis x et xx* (CIL VI 3138). The lines were apparently inscribed when the four Claudian panels were repurposed for an arch erected in Rome, 130 m. south on the Via Flaminia, when Diocletian visited in 303. The city then celebrated the twentieth anniversary of Diocletian's reign, the tenth anniversary of the Tetrarchy, and the Tetrarchy's triumphs.¹⁰⁸ The Arcus Novus' reused *spolia* of Claudian ethnic personifications, and the new bases with Victories and bound "barbarians," demonstrate clearly the shift from the objective, geographic knowledge of the Map of Agrippa, to a more generic and triumphalist discourse.

Conclusions

In the middle Augustan period Agrippa's Map, to display authoritatively and accurately the whole world to Rome, was housed in the large new Porticus Vipsania that rose boldly in a hitherto un-monumentalized area, the later Regio VII. Over the next three centuries seven geographical monuments were built nearby. A larger-scale examination of geographical monuments in Rome might reveal that such monuments, with their traditional commemoration of Rome's successful wars, were common throughout the city. But the clustering of the monuments I have examined in and near the residential Regio VII suggests that the Porticus Vipsania, with its public display of Agrippa's map, had particular effect and appeal. Agency and motivation remain conjectural in

106 Richardson 1992, 27 s.v. "Arcus Novus"; LTUR 1.101–2, s.v. "Arcus Novus" (Torelli); La Rocca (1994) 267. Jolivet (2007) 107 cautions that this is not the only possible identification of the Arcus Novus.

107 LTUR 1.101–2, s.v. "Arcus Novus" suggests that these later reliefs may be from Aurelian's Temple of the Sun, not from the Arcus Novus. See Koeppel (1983) 120–21 for the Diocletianic recut head of the emperor from the Claudian reliefs.

108 Richardson (1992) 27; LTUR 1.101, s.v. "Arcus Novus." Victories included one over Persia and the re-conquest of Britain. I thank audiences in Washington University in St. Louis, Vanderbilt University, and the University of Indiana for helping me sharpen my arguments, and Duke's Wired! group for inspiration.

the absence of specific information about responsibility for the monuments investigated here. Yet we can say that these sites, and the Porticus, provided geographical information and symbols to a dense, residential neighborhood and to visitors to Rome, even if we do not know how any one viewer “read” the varied information while moving through this area.

The monuments themselves evince a shift over time from factual geographical precision—Agrippa’s Map and parts of the Arch of Claudius; presumably the Catabulum and equestrian statue of Tiridates—to an undifferentiated emphasis on Rome’s sheer might. Two second-century monuments alongside the Via Flaminia—the Antonine arch and Aurelian Column—visually distinguish non-Romans simply as the “Other,” unkempt and vulnerable barbarians. The extant reliefs from the Arch of Claudius and the Hadrianeum indicate conceptual interchangeability for Rome’s visual references to peoples and regions once alien but now under Rome’s control: docile, placid women with matching Greco-Roman physiognomies and demeanor despite ostensibly distinctive attributes. This geographical imprecision is manifested most clearly in the Arcus Novus’ reuse of ethnic personifications from the Arch of Claudius. Suggestively, the Claudian arch’s inscription referred specifically to Britain’s kings and tribes, whereas the Arcus Novus’ extant inscription commemorates generically successful vows for power and conquest. If by the fourth century the Map of Agrippa played any role in a public understanding of Rome’s place in the whole world, it may have been simply to add authoritative footnotes to Rome’s claims to eternal empire.

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The Provinces and Worldview of Velleius Paterculus

Brian Turner

Velleius Paterculus published his historical work in about AD 30. Recent scholarship on his text has focused on various themes including aspects of his own personal biography, his impact on Latin historiography, his presentation of various Roman values, and his depiction of certain characters and institutions from Roman history.¹ His understanding and presentation of the geography of the Roman Empire has garnered far less scholarly consideration.²

This paper, therefore, examines Velleius' presentation of political and spatial geography. Since the 1980s, historians have debated the ways in which the Romans envisioned and understood the geographic space of their empire. Some have argued that the Romans' view of space was primarily based on a hodological or linear perspective—a result of the Roman tendency to list geographic items in such mediums as the itinerary.³ Others have concluded that the Romans employed a form of scientific cartography.⁴ Talbert has proposed an additional model:

In short, then, I suggest we would be right to perceive a sense of the empire's provinces as spatial entities, and of the geographic relationship between them, developing from the early first century AD. This sense—*alongside* the linear sense gained from itineraries, together with representations in a variety of art forms—becomes a further recognized means by which Romans envision their wider surroundings.⁵

As an active soldier, politician, and writer during a period in which such a provincial framework apparently developed, Velleius' text offers a case study through which Talbert's suggested provincial framework can be tested and the Roman worldview illuminated. The first half of this paper examines some of

1 Yardley (2011) xxiii–xxiv; Cowan (2011) for further bibliography.

2 Bispham (2011) does focus on the place of Italy in the text, but not the geography of the broader empire.

3 Janni (1984); Brodersen (2001), (2003), and (2012); Whittaker (2002).

4 Jodry (1951); Dilke (1985); Nicolet (1991).

5 Talbert (2004) 34–5. Geus and Thiering (2014) explore “common sense” geography; their important work appeared too late to incorporate here.

the potential and often competing sources of knowledge, including personal travel, itineraries, and even maps of a certain kind, which confronted Velleius as he sat down to write his history. The second half examines how the provinces do indeed appear as the dominant framework upon which Velleius, and presumably his readers, envisioned the Roman Empire.

Sources of Knowledge

Unlike most other ancient historians, Velleius happily peppered his work with personal details, so that much of his career is documented in his own words. Although most of the autobiography—especially the sheer joy he takes in recording the deeds and loyalties of his ancestors—need not concern us here, those passages that record his travels are of interest because they illustrate when and where he might have gained first-hand knowledge about the geography of the empire.⁶ By 2 BC he had served as a military tribune in Thrace and Macedonia (2.101.3). During the next five years, probably as part of Gaius Caesar's entourage, he visited Achaia, Asia, and, so he says, *omnibus ad Orientem* ("all the eastern provinces," 2.102.2), presumably Bithynia-Pontus, Galatia, Cilicia, and Syria (2.101.3). He may even have followed Gaius into Armenia. He noted the fact that he had seen the mouth of the Black Sea, and both its coasts (2.101.3). The real highlight of the eastern tour came in 1 BC, when he witnessed the diplomatic meeting between Gaius, an heir of the emperor Augustus, and Phraates, the king of Parthia, on a small island in the middle of the Euphrates River (2.101.3). The low point (perhaps) came with the death of Gaius in Lycia in AD 4, although Velleius is not sympathetic to the deceased who impiously chose to abandon his political career (2.102.3). Later that same year, and after returning to Rome, the future historian was promoted to *praefectus equitum* and sent with Tiberius to Germany. Their route to the front took them *per celeberrimam Italiae partem tractumque omnem Galliae provinciarum* ("through the most populous part of Italy and along the whole extent of the Gallic provinces," 2.104.3). Presumably, having crossed through the Alps, the imperial army skirted the eastern borders of Narbonensis, Aquitania, Lugdunensis, and even Belgica before crossing into Germania where they encountered and subjected the Canninefates, Attuarii, Bructeri, and Cherusci (2.105.1), all tribes located predominantly in the far north of Europe, just east of the Rhine delta.⁷ From there he claimed that *Perlustrata armis tota Germania est* ("the Roman armies wandered over all of Germania," 2.106.1), and that they

6 Sumner (1970); Yardley (2011) xiii–xx; Levick (2011) 1–16.

7 Barr: 10.

had even reached the Elbe River, an accomplishment never before achieved by Roman forces (2.106.2). He then served in Pannonia and Dalmatia during the revolts of AD 6–9 (2.111.3). Considering his predilection to insert himself into his narrative, we might expect Velleius to mention any trips to the provinces in Spain or Africa (including Egypt), but since he does not, we cannot be sure if he ever visited them. Still, even if he did not visit every corner of the Roman world, he was a well-travelled Roman.

There is also little doubt that this travel left an impression on Velleius. He admits that he thoroughly enjoyed (*perfruo*) recalling the events he witnessed, and the places, peoples and cities he visited in the east (2.101.3). His narrative of the military campaigns along the Rhine and Danube Rivers, meanwhile, is replete with ethnographic depictions. In Germania, the Roman armies had conquered *gentes paene nominibus incognitae* (“races whose names were barely recognizable,” 2.106.1). There were also an infinite number of Cauchi, all of whom had immense bodies and were protected by the nature of their territories’ terrain (2.106.1). Although he was not present, Velleius would later describe the German tribes, principally the Cherusci, who annihilated Varus’ three legions in AD 9, as exemplars of savageness (*feritas*) and deceit (*mendax*) (2.118.1). The Langobardi, Velleius determined, were even fiercer (*ferocior*) than the Germans (2.106.2). In other circumstances, while encamped on the Elbe River, Velleius marveled at the sight of an aged, but physically fit and dignified barbarian, crossing the river in a canoe made from a hollowed out log, *ut illis mos est* (“as is their custom,” 2.107.1). Maroboduus, *natione magis quam ratione barbarus* (“a barbarian by birth more than by intellect,” 2.108.2), led the Marcomanni, warriors who *perpetuis exercitiis paene ad Romanae disciplinae formam redactum* (“were almost raised to the standard of Roman discipline by constant training,” 2.109.1). The Pannonians who revolted in AD 6, likewise, showed knowledge of Roman discipline (*disciplina*), language (*lingua*) and even literature (*litterae*) (2.110.5), while the Dalmatians, partners in the revolt, had a ferocious (*ferocia*) nature and a wonderful knowledge (*mira scientia*) of warfare (2.115.4). Having fought against all of these peoples, Velleius’ ethnographic descriptions, however judgmental, unbecoming, and traditional, developed in part from his own experiences.

Besides the knowledge gained from personal experience, other sources informed Velleius’ worldview and, therefore, his written geography.⁸ Many modern scholars have concentrated on the itinerary and other travelogues, such as *periploi*, not only as evidence of geographic knowledge but also as

8 Hellegouarc’h (1984) 412–16 examines Velleius’ sources for his general narrative.

a framework for a distinctly linear, what they call hodological, worldview.⁹ Velleius does indeed illustrate a reliance on such sources throughout his text. His recollection of the foundation of Megara by the Peloponnesians, for example, offers a subtle glimpse of a model itinerary. The isthmian city was founded *mediam Corintho Athenisque urbem* (“in between Corinth and Athens,” 1.2.2). The precision of the word *medius* may even have surprised Velleius: according to the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, by no means a route map, but itself in part a product of itineraries (however haphazardly assembled), Megara was precisely thirty-one Roman miles from both Corinth and Athens.¹⁰

Elsewhere, Velleius connects such listings of geographic information with the expansion of imperial power. His description of how the Ionians came *nobilissimam partem regionis maritimae occupavere* (“to occupy the most well-known part of the coast,” 1.4.3), appears to be following a sort of *periplous*, a document which described the cities and ports along a coastal area, or as Velleius constructs it, a *regio maritima*. Accordingly, the Ionians founded the cities of Ephesus, Miletus, Colophon, Priene, Lebedus, Myus, Erythra, Clazomenae, and Phocaea, and occupied Samos, Chios, Andros, Tenos, Paros, Delos, among a number of lesser known (*ignobiles*) islands (1.4.3). The Aeolians also participated in such expansion: they founded Smyrna, Cyme, Larissa, Myrina, Mytilene, and some other cities on the island of Lesbos (1.4.4). Velleius’ list of Ionian city settlements, beginning with Ephesus, appears to have a consistent, even if unusual, pattern. The list proceeds south from Ephesus to Miletus, and then northwest from Miletus to Colophon, and then southeast from Colophon to Priene, and then continues to alternate between cities in the northwest and southeast before ending with Phocaea. This zigzagging presentation gradually moves from southeast to northwest—essentially counterclockwise. The other two lists, of the islands occupied by the Ionians, and of the cities founded by the Aeolians,¹¹ are also ordered in a clearly counterclockwise way based on their locations. The frequency of such a revolving organization of geographic information, particularly as described in lists found in our Roman sources, may, as Salway suggests, illustrate a traditional tendency of the Romans which had its foundations in their historical experiences prior to their imperial expansion outside of Italy.¹²

9 See especially Janni (1984); Brodersen (2001), (2003), and (2012); Whittaker (2002).

10 For the sources and production of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, see Talbert (2010b) 108–109. The *Tabula Peutingeriana* calculates the routes from Megara, through Isthmia, to Corinth, and from Megara, through Eleusis, to Athens.

11 With the slight exception of Larissa, which was north of Smyrna but south of Cyme.

12 Salway (2012) 230–31.

The two principal geographic digressions in Velleius' text, his description of the Roman provinces (2.38.1–2.40.3), and his description of Rome's colonial foundations (1.14.1–8), are likewise presented as lists of geographic information associated with imperial expansion. Unlike the counterclockwise organization found in his description of various Greek imperial endeavors, in both of the Roman cases, Velleius reorganized the data to follow the chronological development of Roman power. In any case—whether Greek or Roman—all of these digressions and lists invite the reader to imagine the expansion and extent of imperial power. Indeed, this focus on the expansion (and succession) of empires may be the principle framework upon which Velleius organized his text.¹³

One other passage, which coincidentally follows the provincial digression just mentioned, illustrates how a campaign narrative could follow an itinerary model. Offering high praise for his exploits, he traced the eastern campaign of Pompey both chronologically and geographically, *Penetratae cum victoria Media, Albania, Hiberia; deinde flexum agmen ad eas nationes, quae dextra atque intima Ponti incolunt, Colchos Heniochosque et Achaeos* . . . (“Media, Albania, and Hiberia were victoriously invaded; and then he turned his army against those peoples, the Colchians, Heniochi, and Achaei, who lived on the right side and in the innermost reaches of the Black Seas,” 2.40.1). Starting in Media, Pompey and his army, Velleius and his readers, move slightly north and west, through Albania and Iberia, and then continue further west into the territory of the Colchians, Heniochi, and Achaei along the northeastern shore of the Black Sea and just south of the Caucasus Mountains (see map). In short, the description follows the movement of Pompey's army. The narrative not only illustrates a linear model based on campaign movements, its orientation of conquered communities in relation to the Black Sea, and especially the use of a relative direction (*dextra*), introduces another possible source for Velleius' geographic knowledge.

Some modern scholars have suggested that Velleius (and therefore the Romans in general) relied on regional maps and battle plans. While the description of a Roman army campaigning to the right (does he mean east?) of the Black Sea provides a tempting example of such a worldview, the real starting point of this argument is Velleius' depiction of the kingdom of Maroboduus, the ruler of the Marcomanni:

Eratque etiam eo timendus, quod cum Germaniam ad laevam et in fronte, Pannoniam ad dextram, a tergo sedium suarum haberet Noricos, tamquam

13 Rich (2011) 77.

in omnes semper venturus ab omnibus timebatur. Nec securam incrementi sui patiebatur esse Italiam, quippe cum a summis alpium iugis, quae finem Italiae terminant, initium eius finium haud multo plus ducentis milibus passuum abesset.

[Maroboduus] was also to be feared for this reason: he had Germany to the left and in front, Pannonia to the right, and the Noricans to the rear of his settlement, and he was feared by all as one who always appeared ready to attack them all. Nor did he allow Italy to feel unconcerned about his increasing power, since his territory began not more than two hundred miles away from the summit of the Alps, which marked the boundary of Italy (2.109.3–4).

Nicolet wrote that this “striking yet curious passage . . . proves indirectly” that Roman commanders and their officers used maps while planning their AD 6 offensive against the Marcommani.¹⁴ He based this claim both on his own reading of the text and on Jodry’s earlier analysis of Velleius’ use of military documents, including maps, as primary sources for his description of the planned invasion of enemy territory.¹⁵ Both scholars may have been too confident or credulous in their belief that Roman officers used maps to organize their military campaigns. Indeed, Jodry betrays positively modern assumptions in his description of the type of documents created by the Roman headquarters. For him, this passage was little more than a transcription of one of the “innombrables plans bleu ou vert, X ou Y, que les états-majors de toutes les armées du monde ont de tout temps amoncelés dans leurs archives.”¹⁶ In a review of Nicolet’s work, Talbert offered the succinct criticism that “the claim that the use of maps on campaign is implied by Velleius (2.109.3–4) does not convince.”¹⁷ Talbert and Brodersen have since repeated the technical (a lack of precision measuring devices or the means and materials for printing consistent maps) and cultural (lack of desire or need) obstacles that limited the practical use of maps on military campaigns.¹⁸

Even if the Romans did not employ maps of the kind assumed by Jodry and Nicolet, the above passages do indicate a clear attempt to frame and

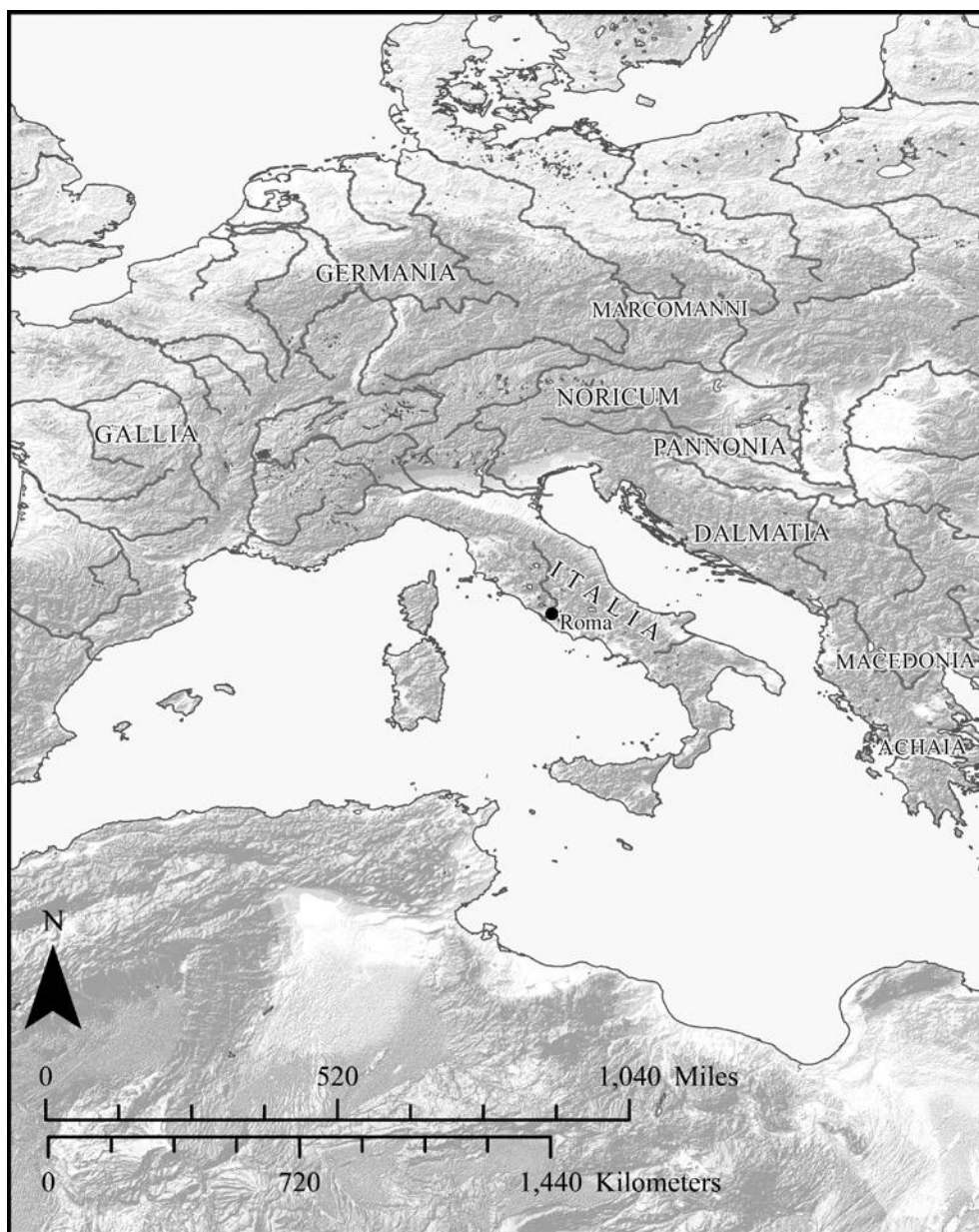
14 Nicolet (1991) 9.

15 Jodry (1951); Woodman (1977) 152 disputes Jodry’s thesis, and instead argues that Velleius relied on a speech given by Tiberius in the senate.

16 Jodry (1951) 270.

17 Talbert (1989) 1351 and idem (1990) 222.

18 Talbert (2010a) 261; Brodersen (2012) 109–110.



MAP 13.1 *The Roman Empire of Velleius Paterculus, produced by the Ancient World Mapping Center
© 2013 (awmc.unc.edu), used by permission.*



organize geographic space. According to Velleius, Maroboduus' kingdom was surrounded by "Germany to the left and in front, Pannonia to the right, and the Noricans to the rear" (2.109.3). Nicolet concluded that this organization reflected a distinctly northern orientation: such that Germany was to the north and west, Noricum to the south and Pannonia to the east.¹⁹ Jodry noted that the description was written from the point of view of Rome, and "l'état-major impérial."²⁰ Although inherently a northern orientation, the nuance of this latter interpretation is vital because there is clear evidence that not all Romans routinely and directly associated the cardinal directions (east, west, etc.) with relative directions (left, right, etc.).²¹ Other Roman authors offered alternative orientations. In these cases, *dextra*, *laeva* and other terms of relative location could refer to any of the cardinal points; their meaning being determined solely by the relative location of the reader or actor as they move through space (either in reality or in the narrative). So, for example, Pomponius Mela, who published his *de Chorographia*, not long after Velleius, described how a traveler entering the Mediterranean Sea from the Atlantic Ocean would find... *laeva Hispania, Mauretania dextra*... ("Hispania on his left, and Mauretania on his right," 1.25). Here *laeva* refers to the north, and *dextra* to the south. A similar method of orientation can be found in Ammianus.²² Velleius' description of the kingdom of Maroboduus, therefore, may not be based on a purely north oriented worldview, but rather may be developed from the point of view of a Roman army marching from Italy to meet an enemy which happened to be located to the north. But even if this is the case, the location of Maroboduus' kingdom as being surrounded by other provinces and regions illustrates an ability to arrange spatial entities in relation to one another and therefore suggests a worldview that reaches beyond the purely linear.

Various forms of geographic representation of the empire were ubiquitous in the later Republican and early imperial Rome, and indeed formed a part of imperial authority.²³ One example in particular, Agrippa's monumental map

19 Nicolet (1991) 9; note that Pannonia lies much more to the southeast.

20 Jodry (1951) 267.

21 Velleius was aware of the cardinal directions, but does not use them to determine movement or locate space as his description of the *pax Augusta* illustrates: *diffusa in orientis occidentisque tractus et quicquid meridiano aut septentrione finitur pax augusta per omnes terrarum orbis angulos a latrociniorum metu servat immunes* ("having spread to the regions of the east and of the west, and bounded by the north and the south, [the *pax Augusta*] keeps men safe from the fear of violent disruptions in every corner of the world," 2.126.3).

22 Amm. Marc. 14.8.1; and Sundwall (1996) 633. Romer (1998) 14–15 for Mela's worldview.

23 Nicolet (1991).

of the *orbis terrarum*, completed by Augustus and displayed in the Porticus Vipsania, deserves special attention.²⁴ Nothing of the original has survived antiquity, so modern scholars have often resorted to creating reconstructions from surviving textual descriptions. Some scholars have in fact argued that Agrippa's 'map' was actually little more than a detailed written description of the world—at best augmented with various pictographs.²⁵ Still, it seems that some sort of visual depiction, a map of whatever form and precision was produced,²⁶ and it is worth speculating that Velleius used it as a source, or at the very least, used sources that followed in the same tradition. Both he and Agrippa relied on specific distance figures to describe the extent of various territories. Pliny the Elder, for example, frequently repeated Agrippa's figures for the length and breadth of a province or geographic feature.²⁷

Velleius, likewise, described how the territory of the Marcomanni was two hundred miles north of the Alps (2.109.3), or how Tiberius had led the Roman army some four hundred miles beyond the Rhine to the Elbe River in AD 4 (2.106.2). The accuracy of these figures is less important than the fact that they illustrate a similar methodology in describing space, a fact that remains true regardless of the precise form of Agrippa's cartographic monument. However ill-formed and inaccurate that map may have been, the public display of a visualization of the world could easily have formed a basis for Velleius' cartographic consciousness and influenced his written description of the spatial organization, especially of the provinces, of the Roman Empire.

A Province Oriented Framework

There is, as it turns out, ample evidence that Velleius envisioned the Roman Empire principally as a conglomeration of provinces. This image of a collection of provinces, and the importance which Velleius attached to them, can be seen in two significant passages in which he described their incorporation into the empire. The first example takes the form of a digression from his basic narrative of historical events:

24 See Boatwright's contribution to this volume for more on his map, pages 236–43.

25 Brodersen (2012) 108–109, but for the most complete analysis of Agrippa's map and the various theories regarding its form and reconstruction see Arnaud (2007–2008).

26 Talbert (2012b) 167–70.

27 See, for example, *HN* 3.16–17, 86, 4.77, and 81.

Haud absurdum videtur propositi operis regulae paucis percurrere, quae cuiusque ductu gens ac natio redacta in formulam provinciae stipendiaria facta sit, ut quae partibus notavimus, facilius simul universa conspici possint.

It seems appropriate to the form of my present work to offer a quick review of those peoples and nations which, having been turned into provinces, were made to pay taxes, and of those commanders which accomplished these feats. In this way, that which I have described in parts can be more easily viewed together as a whole (2.38.1).

In the two full chapters (2.38.1–2.39.3) following these introductory comments Velleius produces a brief survey of the creation of each Roman province up to the addition of Cappadocia in AD 17. The summary also includes the names of those individuals who first entered the province or who were principally responsible for each acquisition. For example, among his list of twenty-six provinces, he notes that Claudius was the first to cross into Sicily, that Regulus was the first into Africa, and that Pompey added Syria and Pontus (2.38.2–2.39.3). Velleius organized the list chronologically according to the date when each individual province was finally added to the empire, though there are occasional discrepancies. For example, the addition of Cyprus, which occurred in 57 BC, is mentioned before that of Crete, which was incorporated a decade earlier, and before both Syria and Pontus, which were added in 62 BC. Whatever the reason for such inconsistencies, and an uncertain memory should not be discounted, Velleius is clear that it is as part of these spatial and political entities that the peoples and nations of the world were incorporated into the Roman Empire.

The second example in which Velleius describes the addition of provinces illustrates just how the creation of a province brought peace and stability to the expanding Roman Empire. Following a brief narrative (2.90.1–4) of how after generations of warfare, Augustus and his commanders finally incorporated Dalmatia, the Alps, and Spain into the empire, Velleius concluded:

Has igitur provincias tam diffusas, tam frequentis, tam feras ad eam pacem abhinc annos ferme quinquaginta perduxit Caesar Augustus, ut quae maximis bellis numquam vacaverant, eae sub C. Antistio ac deinde P. Silio legato ceterisque postea etiam latrociniis vacarent.

Some fifty years ago, Caesar Augustus led these provinces—so extensive, so populous, and so fierce—to such a state of peace that although they had

never before been free from serious wars, they were now, under the governorship of Gaius Antistius and then of Publius Silius, and of those others who governed after them, even free from violent disruptions (2.90.4).

Such a definition of the conditions of peace is seen elsewhere in Velleius' text. He described, for example, how the *pax Augusta* kept men *per omnes terrarum orbis angulos a latrociniorum metu servat immunes* ("safe from the fear of violent disruptions in every corner of the world" 2.126.3). Throughout his text then, and especially in both of the passages currently under discussion, the arrival of Rome, and the organization of a territory's peoples into administrative provinces, created the conditions of peace and empire.

The placement of these two passages within the broader organizational framework of Velleius' text also suggests that he wanted to emphasize the importance of the provinces to the security and stability of the empire. The first example (2.38.1–2.39.3), in which Velleius recounts a brief history of the provincial additions, interrupts the narrative just prior to the description of Pompey's return from the east at the end of the 60s, an event that could be seen as the starting point for more than thirty years of violent civil competition that nearly destroyed the empire. The second passage (2.90.1–4), which mirrors the first in the recognition that the provinces brought peace to the unstable and wild parts of the world, followed the description of another Roman's triumphant return from the east. The return of Octavian in 29 BC ushered in a period of peace and prosperity. As the first sentence in the second passage makes clear, it was a period in which the Roman world could become whole again: *Sepultis, ut praediximus, bellis civilibus coalescentibusque rei publicae membris, et coaluere quae tam longa armorum series laceraverat* ("After the civil wars ended, as I have described, and after the limbs of the state began to heal, the provinces,²⁸ which had been torn apart by a long series of wars, coalesced," 2.90.1). Examined together, these two provincial digressions thus mark the beginning and the end of Velleius' narrative of the civil wars, a period so disastrous to the Roman world. That he chose to organize his text in such a way illustrates the significance he placed on the Roman provinces as sources of security and stability. For Velleius, then, the strength of the Roman Empire lies in the peaceful connectivity of these provinces.

These two passages share one other vital similarity. In both cases, Velleius emphasizes the visual depiction of the provinces. He invites his readers to see (*conspicio*, 2.38.1) the provinces of the Roman Empire, not simply as individual

28 That the relative pronoun *quae* refers to provinces is made clear by the description of the pacification and unification of provinces in the rest of the chapter.

entities (*partes*, 2.38.1), but grouped together as a whole (*universa*, 2.38.1), not just as individual portions (*membri*, 2.90.1), but as elements sewn together (*coaluere*, 2.90.1) after having been torn apart (*lacero*, 2.90.1) by civil war. Even if he was not envisioning a map ripped apart and sewn together, the fact that much of the language (especially *membri*, *coaluere*, *lacero*) also serves the metaphor of a torn and healing physical body corroborates the idea that Velleius was imagining spatial entities assembled in a particular order to form a recognizable whole.²⁹

The sentence that immediately precedes, and therefore introduces, the passage describing Augustus' pacification of the provinces further encourages the reader to explore a visual depiction of the empire. In defense of the brevity of his work, Velleius wrote:

Bella sub imperatore gesta pacatusque victoriis terrarum orbis et tot extra Italiam domique opera omne aevi sui spatium impensurum in id solum opus scriptorem fatigarent: nos memores professionis universam imaginem principatus eius oculis animisque subiecimus.

A description of the wars waged under his command, of the pacification of the world by his victories, and of his many works both outside of Italy and at home would exhaust a writer who intended to devote his entire life to that single task. I, mindful of my promise, have set before the eyes and minds of my readers a general picture of his principate (2.89.6).

The initial comment that Augustus had brought peace to the *orbis terrarum* inspires the reader to visualize the whole world. Then, before proceeding to recount the addition of Dalmatia, the Alps and Spain to the empire, Velleius again employs visual terminology as he reminds his readers that he is setting forth before their eyes and minds (*oculi animique*) a general image of the principate. Modern scholars have taken the passage to refer to the general condition and political history of the principate itself, though with some uncertainty about whether it refers to the just completed narrative describing Augustus' victory, or whether it refers to the upcoming narrative about conditions in Rome during Augustus' sole rule.³⁰ The phrase is, however, a near exact quotation from the introduction of another geographic digression in Velleius' text. In his reflection on the foundation of Rome's colonies and its extension of citizenship, he again employed the language of visualization: *Cum facilius*

29 Catherine Connors suggested the application of the bodily metaphor in this context.

30 Woodman (1983) 260–61.

cuiusque rei in unam contracta species quam divisa temporis oculis animisque inhaereat ("Since the sight of similar facts more easily impresses the mind and eye when collected in one place than when divided chronologically," 1.14.1). Read in consideration of the geographic terminology and descriptions that accompany it and compared to the passages already discussed, it appears that Velleius directed his readers to visualize a sort of mental map of the empire: a map that illustrated expanding Roman power. Although this last example reflects imperialism through the addition of various cities and communities, overall the text of Velleius emphasizes a distinct understanding of space and territory that recognized the provinces as essential entities of the Romans' geographic imperial consciousness.

Many other passages in Velleius confirm that he and (presumably) his readers understood the provinces were individual spatial entities, and that on account of their relationship with one another formed the extent of the Roman Empire. In other words, it was through a series of interconnected provinces that the Romans apprehended the relative size and shape of their empire. As noted above, the description of Maroboduus' kingdom illustrates just such a province-oriented organization: the territory of the Marcomanni was surrounded by Germany on its left and front, Pannonia on its right, and Noricum to its rear. Velleius reminds his readers that Maroboduus was a threat to Italy because his kingdom was located only about 200 miles from the Alps, which marked the northern border of Italy (2.190.4). But, he also described the location of the enemy's territory based on its position relative to other Roman provinces and territories. That Pannonia did not lay directly to the right of Marcomannic territory, that is directly east, but to the southeast, south of the Danube and east (right) of Noricum, need cause little concern. Stylistic reasons as well as geographic ignorance could explain that phenomenon. What is important is that Velleius illustrates the basic interconnectivity and relativity of the provinces in two-dimensional space.

The technique of defining spaces based on their location relative to other Roman provinces is found elsewhere in Velleius and confirms that he and his readers shared a common understanding of how the provinces were organized along with the importance of the connections between them. This connectivity appears particularly important in times of war. For example, after describing how Lucius Piso, in a vicious three year fight, quelled a rebellion that arose in Thrace, Velleius explains the consequences for the broader region: *eiusque patratione Asiae securitatem, Macedoniae pacem reddidit* ("By concluding this war he restored security to Asia and peace to Macedonia," 2.98.2). The passage assumes that the reader understood that events occurring in Thrace could have an effect in Macedonia and Asia; in short, that the reader could visualize

that Thrace shared borders with the two provinces. The end of the rebellion meant that those provinces most susceptible to the spilling over of violence were now safe.

A comparable example of how such violence could easily spread from province to province can be found in Velleius' description of the uprising in Pannonia in AD 6. In this case, after the initial outbreak of violence, the rebellion spread throughout Dalmatia and the surrounding region (2.110.2). The rebels then threatened to overrun Italy and Macedonia: *pars petere Italiam decreverat iunctam sibi Nauporti ac Tergestis confinio, pars in Macedoniam se effuderat* ("a part had planned to attack Italy, which was joined to them by the common border of Nauportus and Tergeste, another part had spread into Macedonia," 2.110.4). Devastation ensued: *omnia et in omnibus locis igni ferroque vastata*, ("everywhere everything was destroyed by fire and sword," 2.110.6). Macedonia, in fact, was quickly occupied by enemy forces; an unknown number of Roman citizens, many of them merchants and veterans were slaughtered; and worst of all, according to Augustus, the enemy was only a ten days march from Rome (2.111.1). Earlier in his text, when describing the beginnings of the Pannonian War which had ended in 9 BC, Velleius had already noted that the war, and by extension the territory of Pannonia (which was not yet a Roman province), was viewed as *perquam vicinum imminebat Italiae*, ("a threat because of its proximity to Italy," 2.96.2). Although Italy was threatened by provinces with which it shared a border, Velleius is clear that such immediate contiguity was not always necessary to imperil Italy.

The heart of the empire could also be threatened from much further away. For example, the danger posed to Italy by Maroboduus has already been described above. In that case, the Marcomanni would need to overwhelm at least one Roman province, Pannonia or Noricum, before posing an immediate threat to Italy. In an even more illustrative example, after Mithridates had expanded his power throughout Anatolia and had succeeded in stirring up revolt in much of Greece, Velleius claims, *cum terribilis Italiae quoque videretur imminere* ("he seemed to pose a terrible threat to Italy," 2.18.3). His use of the verb *videre*, "to seem," suggests that the former military officer and world traveler perhaps knew that even having reached Greece, Mithridates was still an unlikely threat to Italy; the Balkans and Adriatic Sea offering a considerable defense.

Modern scholars are correct to find a certain amount of "geographic ignorance" contributing to similar fears.³¹ On the other hand, when the provinces are seen as a series of interconnected portions of the empire, in which Italy

31 Gruen (1984) 384, on which see Talbert (1990) 218–19, who does not discuss Velleius, but offers different examples of such geographic ignorance, with particular reference to

was at the center, geographically, politically, and culturally, the threat becomes genuine.³² While the events of history may know no boundaries, the provinces themselves offered Velleius and the Romans a way to understand the relative location of the various parts of the empire and therefore offered a framework through which such uprisings (and their ultimate spread) could be viewed and understood. In short, if a disaster afflicted some part of a province, it afflicted the whole province and therefore threatened the provinces next to it. It is, then, Italy's position as the central piece of a larger puzzle that made Romans feel vulnerable to even the remotest dangers. Tacitus offers a similar example of the interconnection of the provinces and the spread of such uprisings in his description of the response in Rome to the revolt of Sacrovir in AD 21. According to the rumors flying around the city, the uprising which had started among the Treveri and Aedui had spread to the rest of Gaul, and that the German provinces had joined them and that the Spanish provinces were wavering (*Ann.* 3.44). Even if the rebellion was isolated to only a portion of a single province, a worldview that was dominated by the recognition of interconnected provinces meant that the reality of spreading violence was not as important as its perception.

Another clear example of this provincial focus can be seen in Velleius' frequent use of the provinces as a way to orient his readers through more specific elements of the geography of the empire, specifically as a way to help locate specific cities and towns. There was little need for the author to offer the reader any guidance about the precise locations of various places in Italy. So, for example, the locations of major battles in the Social War are identified by no more than the town in which an event had occurred: *Paulo ante quam Sulla ad Sacriportum dimicaret, magnificis proelii partium eius viri hostium exercitum fuderant, duo Servilii apud Clusium, Metellus Pius apud Faventiam, M. Lucullus circa Fidentiam* ("Not long before Sulla fought at Sacriportus, a number of his men defeated the army of the enemy in magnificent battles: the two Servilii at Clusium, Metellus Pius at Faventia, and Marcus Lucullus around Fidentia," 2.28.1). Sacriportus, Clusium, Faventia, and Fidentia were all well-known Italian cities. When announcing the specific locations for events that occurred outside of Italy, Velleius frequently, though not always, oriented the reader within the empire by including the name of the province. So, when he described the defeat of Perseus at the hands of Lucius Aemilius Paulus, Velleius wrote that the final battle occurred *apud urbem nomine Pydnam in Macedonia*, ("at a city in Macedonia named Pydna," 1.9.4). Likewise Quintus

the region I am discussing. For a compendium of Roman fears in the early empire see Knepe (1994).

32 Bispham (2012) describes the importance of Italy in Velleius' text.

Macedonicus led an assault against *urbem Contrebiā nomine in Hispania*, (“a city in Spain named Contrebia,” 2.5.2). Caesar and Antony *traiecerunt exercitus in Macedoniam et apud urbem Philippos cum Bruto Cassioque acie concurrerunt*, (“led their army into Macedonia, near the city of Philippi, where they met the army of Cassius and Brutus,” 2.70.1). Gaius Caesar died *in urbe Lyciae (Limyra nominant)*, (“in a city of Lycia, they call Limyra,” 2.102.3). The reader is even reminded that Carnuntum, the legionary base from which Tiberius was planning an assault on the Marcomanni, *qui locus Norici regni . . . erat*, (“was located in Noricum,” 2.109.5). Velleius, then, appears to recognize that his readers would be much more familiar with individual provinces than they would with specific city names.

Finally, the importance of the provinces and related regions to Velleius’ understanding of the Roman world and imperial power is found in a passage in which he recounts Tiberius’ arrival in Germany in AD 14. Velleius accompanied the emperor on this mission and records what he admits is scarcely believable—that Tiberius was heaped with praise from the soldiers who welcomed back their former commander (2.104.1–4). According to Velleius, the soldiers began to clamor for Tiberius’ attention by reminding him of their previous service. In doing so, they simply referred to the location where they had served (gloriously no doubt) with Tiberius. So they shouted out, *ego tecum, imperator, in Armenia, ego in Raetia fui, ego a te in Vindelicia, ego in Pannonia, ego in Germania donatus sum*, (“‘Imperator, I was with you in Armenia!’ ‘I was in Raetia!’ ‘I received a donative from you in Vindelicia!’ ‘I received mine in Pannonia!’ ‘I received mine in Germania!’” 2.104.4). On the face of it, Velleius is simply recording what he witnessed: old soldiers greeting their former commander and bragging about their former service, but the passage is more than a simple narrative of events. It not only illustrates Tiberius’ remarkable career as a commander, but also, when read in conjunction with the other geographic passages in his text, the geographic scope of Roman imperialism.

Conclusion

Velleius had no shortage of geographic source material when he wrote his history. He could rely on his own extensive travels throughout most of the Roman world, but especially along the eastern and northern frontiers, that is along the Euphrates, Rhine and Danube Rivers. His text illustrates awareness and the use of itineraries and other travelogue documents that generally listed geographic space as encountered by a traveler, whether civilian or soldier. A type of cartography also featured in his menu of source material. Despite the suggestions

of some modern historians, regional maps and battle plans were not available. World maps, such as the one developed by Agrippa, or examples in the same tradition, do seem to feature in Velleius' conception of the world—at least for the organization of spatial entities such as provinces. Such maps of the *orbis terrarum* need not have been as accurate or precise as the assumed regional maps used for the planning of battles would need to have been. Rather, world maps were meant to illustrate the extent of the Roman Empire. Power and prestige lay behind the exhibition of Agrippa's map, just as it did two other cartographic displays from the late third century: the map decorating a school in Augustodunum (modern Autun) and, as Talbert has shown, the *Tabula Peutingeriana* itself.³³

Although no map accompanied his text, Velleius illustrates a similar concern with the visualization of the power and extent of the Roman Empire. On the one hand, the focus on the provinces as spatial entities is consistent with a hodological viewpoint since it is the serial nature of their connection that forms the extent of the Roman Empire. On the other hand, Velleius' text does display a cartographic consciousness, however hazy and imprecise. He understands the provinces to be spatial entities that contain the peoples and cities of the empire. It is through a visualization of these provinces, their relative even if imprecise size, shape, and interconnections, that Velleius and his readers could incorporate the real physical space of the Roman world into a mental image of the *terrarum orbis imperio* ("empire of the world," 2.131.2).³⁴

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33 See Talbert (2010a) 254–63 for a discussion of all three maps and Talbert (2010b) for an extensive study of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*.

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Litterae Datae Blandenone: A Letter in Search of a Posting Address

Jerzy Linderski

For the sender and the addressee we need not search. They are Quintus Cicero the sender, and Marcus Cicero the addressee. The letter itself is somewhat of a phantom: it does not exist, and is known only from the reply of Marcus. But even phantoms are in need of full and exact documentation, the date and the place of origin or apparition, and, for a letter, of the return or posting address. Cicero writes to his brother (*Q Fr.* 2.14 (13).1 [= SB 18]):

A.d. IIII Non. Iun., quo die Romam veni, accepi tuas litteras datas Placentia, deinde alteras postridie datas Blandenone¹ cum Caesaris litteris refertis omni officio, diligentia, suavitate. . . Litterae vero eius una datae cum tuis, quarum initium est quam suavis ei tuus adventus fuerit et recordatio veteris amoris, . . . incredibiliter delectarunt.

Four days before the Nones of June [June 2],² the day I got back to Rome, I received your letter posted from Placentia, and then another letter posted the following day³ from Blandeno together with Caesar's letter full of all manner of courtesy, attentiveness, and charm. . . [a few lines below] His letter dispatched along with yours indeed pleased me extraordinarily. He begins by writing how delighted he was at your arrival, . . . and the remembrance of old affection.

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- 1 The *consensus* of best manuscripts (including the most important Mediceus) is reported by various editors as *blande(n)non(n)e*. This appears to mean that the most frequent *lectio* is *blandenone*, but that other readings are also attested. Consequently, editors opt mostly for *Blandenone*, but also *Blandennone*, *Blandenonne*, *Blandennonne*.
 - 2 We have to keep in mind that the Romans counted the dates inclusively. I oppose introducing in translations concepts totally alien to the Romans. Thus I follow the Latin idiom, and supply the dates in their modern guise in square brackets.
 - 3 Or, alternately, depending on whether we combine *postridie* with *accepi* or *datas*: "and then next day (I received) another letter posted from Blandeno."

In May of 54 Cicero sojourned in Campania; he returned to Rome on second June, and on the same day he received a letter from his brother who was on his way to join as a *legatus* the army of Caesar and participate in the campaigns in Gaul and in the invasion of Britain. Soon afterward another letter from Quintus arrived, and a letter from Caesar. The mention of Caesar lifts this correspondence from the level of brotherly chatter and gossip to the plane of history. For just recently in an extraordinary reversal of sentiment a rapprochement has occurred between Cicero and Caesar. The old and fading consular attempted to attach his prospects and the prospects of his brother to the shining star of the proconsul in Gaul. Cicero, an erudite and eloquent upstart, never felt comfortable with the haughty ancient nobility; ultimately, repelled by the brashness and vulgarity of the Caesarians, he ended up on the losing side. The catastrophe lay in the future, but the future now fleetingly looked bright indeed. In the letter to Quintus Cicero expresses his wishful conviction that this new political conjunction would open a path *ad gloriam et ad summam dignitatem*, (“to glory and the highest standing.”) He mentions not only Caesar’s warm feelings (*Caesaris tantum in me amorem*), but also cryptically alludes “to all the distinctions Caesar wants me to expect.” We can only guess what those future *honores* Cicero and his brother hoped to gain with Caesar’s help might have been: very likely the censorship for Marcus, and the elevation to the high priestly college of the augurs (which he did indeed achieve, though rather through Pompey’s agency);⁴ and for Quintus possibly the election to the consulate.⁵ There were also literary plans. Cicero intended to compose an *epos ad Caesarem*, singing of the emperor’s looming exploits in Britain.⁶ Caesar was receptive, and generous in his literary reciprocity. Traversing from his provinces of Gallia Citerior and Illyricum back to Gaul he completed a linguistic treatise and dedicated it to Cicero: *De analogia libri ad Ciceronem*.⁷ A peculiar gift, a peculiar interest, and a peculiar timing—for Caesar was just about to embark on his second expedition to Britain. As Quintus was to accompany him in this adventure, Cicero entreats his brother to provide a colorful stuff for his poem, his *quadriga poetica* (“poetic chariot”): “just only give me Britain to paint—with your

4 Constans (1950) 257; Németh (1968) 50–54; and Shackleton Bailey (1980) 198 suggest a second consulship, but it is hard to believe that Cicero would have seriously entertained such a far-fetched idea. Lossmann (1962) 60–65 offers an analysis of the whole letter.

5 So, plausibly, Wiseman (1966); Mamoojee (1992) attempts a rebuttal. See also the lucid account by Osgood (2009) 342–48.

6 See Allen (1955).

7 Suet. *Iul.* 56.5. See Garcea (2012) esp. 78–124 on “Cicero and Caesar’s *De analogia*,” philologically a marvelous study, but somewhat divorced from the politics of the day.

colors, my brush." Just as if Caesar and Quintus were out on an ethnographic research trip and not up to slaughter, loot, and slave hunting.

In the winter and spring of 54 Caesar was tending to the affairs in his two other provinces, Gallia Cisalpina and Illyria. To these events he devotes in his *Commentaries* a terse chapter (*BGall.* 5.1). At the beginning of the consular year 54 (*L. Domitio, Ap. Claudio consulibus*) Caesar, as was his habit, left Gaul for the Cisalpina. Before his departure he ordered his legates to construct a large number of ships for the invasion of Britain; and he put all legions into winter quarters in the territory of the Belgae (*BGall.* 4.38.4: *in Belgis omnium legionum hiberna constituit*), both to control firmly this warlike tribe, and to have troops ready at hand for the British landing. In a peaceful province the chief duty of the governor was the administration of justice; he would travel from one assize to another. Indeed this is the only business Caesar mentions he conducted in Gallia Citerior; however, *conventibus peractis*, he had to rush to Illyricum to confront the tribe of Pirustae and halt their predatory raids across the border of the province. He ordered the townships (*civitates*) to levy soldiers, and at this show of determination the Pirustae meekly agreed to deliver hostages and also to pay reparations and fines to be assessed by judges (*arbitri*) appointed by Caesar. The danger was thus not too difficult to handle, but still it must have unexpectedly prolonged Caesar's stay to the south of the Alps. After having taken care of the assizes in Illyricum he immediately departed to Cisalpine Gaul and on to his army. As he writes (*BGall.* 5.2): *His confectis rebus* (i.e. the trouble with the Pirustae) *conventibusque peractis* (i.e. the assizes in his Illyrian province) *in citeriorem Galliam revertitur atque inde ad exercitum proficiscitur*.

No precise dates or routes here. It so happens that the only extant document that can throw chronological and topographical light on the movements of Caesar, and on his departure to Gaul and ultimately for the campaign in Britain is the letter of Cicero to his brother.

In this text we encounter a linguistic puzzle and a textual puzzle: the place name *Blandeno* and the syntactic ambiguity surrounding the temporal adverb *postridie*. These philological uncertainties ultimately pose problems of geography and history. The first letter of Quintus was posted from Placentia; then (*deinde*) a second letter arrived and a letter from Caesar; Cicero stresses that these letters were dispatched together and delivered together, no doubt by the same messenger. Here *postridie* obtrudes: does it go with *accepi* or with *datas*? If the former, these two letters reached Cicero on third June; if the latter they apparently were in his hands later on the same day as the first letter from Quintus, second June. Caesar and Quintus sent their missives from the place called Blandeno. The locality of this name is not recorded in any other

source. Where was it situated? The two riddles, adverbial and topographical, might appear disparate and separate—but they are adroitly entwined. For if the twin letters of Caesar and Quintus were sent from Blandeno one day after (*postridie*) the first letter of Quintus, we must seek Blandeno in the vicinity of Placentia; if on the other hand *postridie* does not pertain to the time of the dispatch but denotes the time of the delivery, the arrival of the two letters in Rome, then the close geographical proximity of Placentia and Blandeno is not established (though it is not excluded), and we might be entitled to search for Blandeno at a slightly farther distance from Placentia.

The philologists are divided, either vigorously upholding one of the two possible attachments of *postridie* or settling for *aporia* and ambiguity. On the plains of philology commas loom large, and they are worth fighting for. In our text, if we print *accepi tuas litteras datas Placentia, deinde alteras postridie, datas Blandenone*, we belong to one camp; if we print *accepi tuas litteras datas Placentia, deinde alteras, postridie datas Blandenone*, we belong to the other.⁸ The Romans did not use commas, and so for an editor eschewing an additional comma and avoiding the tricky issue of its placement, may be the safe, sane, and wise choice. This choice is not available to translators. They have to rely on their personal feel for Latin, a treacherous guide.⁹ A diligent review of Ciceronian and general Latin data banks concerning the usage of *deinde* and *postridie* in connection with the phrase *litteras accipere* did not produce any decisive results.

After taking leave of his brother, Quintus immediately started penning letters. As Marcus informs Quintus in a letter sent from Cumae or Pompeii some time before the Kalends of June (*Q Fr.* 2.13 (12).1 [= SB 17]): *Duas adhuc accepi epistulas, alteram in ipso discessu nostro, alteram Arimini datam. pluris quas scribis te dedisse non acceperam* (“Up to now I have received two letters from you, one dispatched just as we parted, the other from Ariminum. You write you sent several further letters, but I have not received them.”)

The main thoroughfare from Rome to northern Italy and Cisalpine Gaul was the *via Flaminia*.¹⁰ It ended at Ariminum on the Adriatic coast, and as we find Quintus precisely at Ariminum, he certainly selected this route. A letter he sent from that city to Marcus reached his brother still residing in his Campanian

8 Cf. Koerner (1885) 41 with references;

9 The hesitant vacillation of the most eminent recent student of Cicero is telling: Shackleton Bailey in his Penguin (1978) and Loeb (2002) translations connects *postridie* with *datas*, but in his Cambridge commentary (1980) admits that it may go with *accepi*.

10 For a quick orientation, see Barr., maps 44, 43, 42, 40; and for a detailed presentation, Radke (1973) 1539–575.

manors. In his reply Cicero tells Quintus he intends to stay in those places (*in isdem locis*) till the Kalends of June, and apologizes for the tardiness of his reply for there was nobody at hand to take his letter, until a Marcus Orfius appeared, an *eques Romanus* and an influential notable from the Campanian Atella. He was also a military tribune in Caesar's army (*in exercitu vestro*). Marcus recommends him to Quintus warmly. He also asks Quintus to be very kind to Trebatius, a young lawyer, who thanks to Cicero's recommendation got an appointment on Caesar's staff, and who may have been traveling together with Quintus. These pieces of casual information are historically quite valuable: the newly appointed officers and commanders (like Quintus) proceeded to report to their commander somewhere in Cisalpine Gaul, and a simple computation points to a date at the end of May (see below). It is well to remember that the Ariminum letter was the only one out of several sent by Quintus that reached its destination (not counting the first communication dispatched in *ipso discessu*). The letter from Ariminum was obviously brought by a trustworthy courier; others given at various stops along the Flaminian Way to casual carriers were like the seeds plants entrust to uncertain winds.

The nearly total absence of Caesar in Cicero's letter strikes the reader. Cicero merely assures Quintus that on his return to Rome he will not let any courier of Caesar's leave without a message. Apparently in his missive Quintus wrote nothing or nothing of importance about Caesar; if he had, Cicero would have certainly proffered an opinion. This has not prevented some editors and commentators of note (but unaware of legal minefields) from claiming that the *rendezvous* of Caesar and Quintus took place precisely at Ariminum.¹¹ In total epistolary silence? But let us pass this objection over for the moment, and raise our hands in astonishment: how can any student of Latin or of Roman history be oblivious of the riveting passages in Suetonius' *Life of Caesar* (31.2) describing the crossing of Rubicon several years later? And what was the first city Caesar's legions occupied on the other side of this brook, the shallow but historically precipitous border line between the province of Cisalpine Gaul and Italy? Ariminum. The *lex Cornelia de maiestate* and Caesar's own *lex de repetundis* explicitly prohibited the governors of provinces from leaving their territorial sphere of command (Cic. *Pis.* 50: *exire de provincia*). Caesar could not and did not meet Quintus at Ariminum. Shackleton Bailey of course shot this wayward idea down, but he replaced it with an unsubstantiated guess: Quintus "may have joined Caesar at Ravenna."¹² Why Ravenna? What business awaited Caesar in this extreme south-eastern corner of his province? None we

11 Tyrrell-Purser (1906) 140; Constans (1950) 257.

12 Shackleton Bailey (1980) 197.

can think of. And if we peruse again Cicero's letter to Quintus which sparked this essay, we will again be exposed to Cicero's high pitch of joy which only the tone deaf would not hear. Clearly Quintus transmitted to him not a piece of stale news, but a fresh report of his meeting with Caesar; and from the amiable letter of Caesar Cicero learned that this encounter went well beyond any expectations.

The *Barrington Atlas* (map 40) brings instant topographical elucidation. At Ariminum ended the Flaminian road, and another grand highway began, the via Aemilia which ran through Bononia, Mutina, Regium and Parma to Placentia.¹³ Quintus took this road: after the message from Ariminum the next letter Cicero received from his brother was posted at Placentia. This letter was in Cicero's hands in Rome on June 2. The length of the via Flaminia from Rome to Ariminum was ca 222 Roman miles (ca 325 km); and the length of the via Aemilia from Ariminum to Placentia 176 Roman miles (ca 257 km). The combined distance of 398 Roman miles (ca 582 km) could easily be covered by a professional messenger (*tabellarius*) in eight or nine days.¹⁴ This yields May 25 as the approximate date (give or take a day or two) of Quintus' dispatch from Placentia. Interestingly, Cicero merely records the receipt of this letter, but has nothing to say about its content. It was overshadowed by the two letters, from Quintus and from Caesar, that arrived still on the same day or on the day thereafter. They were sent from a mysterious locality called Blandeno (cf. n. 1). That the meeting of Quintus and Caesar did not occur in Placentia is significant, and it offers a hint concerning the route Caesar took to get to Gaul.

Caesar every year traveled in the winter months from Gaul to his provinces in the northern part of the Italian peninsula, and back in the spring, but surprisingly he never comments on his passing through the Alps save on one occasion at the outset of the Helvetian war (*BGall.* 1.10.1–5). Then, in April of 58, he hastened from his province to Italy (*in Italiam magnis itineribus contendit*¹⁵), levied two new legions, summoned three legions from their winter quarters around Aquileia, and *qua proximum iter in ulteriorem Galliam per Alpes erat cum his quinque legionibus ire contendit* ("with those five legions speedily marched by the shortest route over the Alps to Further Gaul"). We do not know where the newly conscripted troops assembled, but the three legions wintering near Aquileia must have marched along the via Postumia, certainly till Cremona, and then selected either the southern (and better established)

13 Radke (1973) 1575–95.

14 Cf. Kolb (2000) 322–23. Cf. Koerner (1885) 39–40; Rauschen (1886) 53.

15 Normally Caesar is precise, and speaks of *Gallia Citerior*. Here he thinks geographically, not legally. The following mention of Aquileia (which was in Histria) makes it clear.

prolongation of the Postumia through Placentia and Dertona, and further advanced through Hasta and Potentia, or the northern track through Ticinum (*Barr.* 39). For next we are with Caesar and his army already to the west of Ocelum, the westernmost city of Hither Gaul, repulsing the native tribes who were blocking the Alpine passes. On the seventh day after leaving Ocelum, the legions arrived in the territory of the Vocontii, and then advanced northward to the land of the Allobroges, both tribes dwelling within the confines of the Roman *provincia*. It is thus immediately clear that the *proximum iter* was not the shortest or nearest way over the Alps in general but specifically to the Helvetian war theater immediately to the north of the transalpine province. If we consider the starting and the end point of Caesar's track (Ocelum and the Vocontii), only one Alpine pass presents itself: Mont Genève (Matrona mons; *Barr.* 17, H4).¹⁶ As the opposition to Caesar's transit demonstrates, this route could not have been customarily used. The usual way from Gallia Cisalpina to the province of Gallia Narbonensis had been up to Caesar's conquests the route through the Alpes Maritimae, the pass at Alpis Summa (La Turbie; *Barr.* 16, D2). Since 58 much has changed, and the western Alpine passes will have been cleared of obstacles; but in 54 Caesar was not traveling to the *provincia*, but to Northern Gaul facing Britain. He does not indicate where he crossed the Alps or which route he took thereafter; he merely mentions that he departed from the Citerior to the army (*ad exercitum*), and that when he arrived there, he inspected all winter quarters (*circumitis omnibus hibernis*: *BGall.* 5.2)—and we know those quarters were in the land of the Belgae.

It is thus most unlikely that he revisited his route of 58, and used the pass at Matrona mons. Gallia was now largely pacified (if we wish to use the expression pleasing to the Romans), and Caesar was in a position to choose the shortest available path through the Alps in the direction of the Atlantic coast. Furthermore as he traveled only with his entourage, and his body guard, he did not need to seek a road able to accommodate several legions. Starting from Illyricum Caesar will have first reached Aquileia, and then continued westward on the Postumia. Quintus had just passed through Placentia. From this city several roads emanated; but for the considerations outlined above we can safely exclude the continuation of the via Postumia toward Dertona. The geographical coordinates we have for Quintus and Caesar lead us inevitably to the north of Placentia. It is in this general area that we have to seek for Blandeno.

For those who are bold enough to venture, two ways beckon, both fraught with pitfalls: the path of emendation, venerable and uncertain; or the treacherous hike

16 Cf. Holmes (1911) 48–49, 615–616.

through toponymy in search of a place name, ancient or modern, that might resemble the Ciceronian Blandeno.

Some four hundred sixty years ago Carlo Sigonio (1523–1584), a great scholar of Roman antiquities, beaming with excitement, was rushing in Venice to his friend Paolo Manuzio (1511–1574). Manutius had already curated several editions of Cicero's letters. Many passages bothered him, and he was now engaged in composing a detailed commentary on the letters *ad Quintum fratrem*. He discussed his work with Sigonius almost daily, and on one occasion the subject was the letter which forms also the subject of this essay. In his editions Manutius printed the vulgate *Blandenonae*, which presumes the nominative form Blandenona. But in the writings of geographers he was not able to find any mention of such a name; and furthermore in a *vetus liber*, a manuscript that once belonged to Cardinal Bessarion (1403–1472), he encountered a divergent *lectio*: *Blandenonnae*. The name is corrupt, he concluded, *mendosum locum existimo*. No conjecture was obvious. However, the overjoyed Sigonius came back next day bringing an ingenious solution. This is a touching moment in the history of *amicitiae philologorum*, and as it conveys vividly the excitement of philology, let Manutius himself speak in his flowing Latin:¹⁷

rediit ad me postridie, quasi thesauro inuento, laetissimus, dixitq(ue) se non magna mutatione excogitasse quiddam, quod a me probatum iri existimaret. quid, inquam? tum ille, hoc: pro, Blandenonae, reponendum puto, Laude, nonis. ut duas se dicat Cicero epistola(s) accepisse, unam IIII non. Iun. Placentiae datam; alteram nonis, cum Caesaris litteris, Laude, quod oppidum adhuc esse, Placentiae proximum qua transeundum erat Quinto in Galliam proficiscenti, nemo nescit. gratulatus homini amicissimo, prope-raui ad scribendum; cum eius sententiam, ut ceteri quoque iudicari possint, qui tamen sane haud dubito quin mecum sentientes eam probent, notam et testatam esse uellem.

He returned to me next day, joyous as if he had found a treasure, and said that, with only modest alterations, he divined something of which he thought I would approve. What is it, I say? Then, he said this: “in place of *Blandenonae* we ought to posit, I think, *Laude, nonis*. Thusly, Cicero would be saying, he had received two letters, one four days before the Nones of June, posted in Placentia, the other on the Nones, posted along with Caesar's letter in Laus, which township still exists, near Placentia, and through which, as we all know, Quintus must have passed on his way

17 Manutius (1562) 120–21.

to Gaul.” Having congratulated my dear friend, I hastened to write; for I wished that his opinion be recorded and attested to so that also others be able to assess it, although I do not doubt they will feel like I do and will approve of it.

Manutius’ hopes have been alternately vindicated and dashed. On the rough ocean of scholarship the conjecture of Sigonius fluctuated between acceptance, oblivion, and rejection. Amazingly, it does not appear in the text of the subsequent *editiones Aldinae*. But let us rest assured: Manutius has not changed his mind. He exercised his business acumen. Most editions he and his son Aldus printed were republications of an unchanged text though often with a changed typeface. The edition of 1570 advertises: “cum correctionibus Paulli Manutii,” but prints the vulgate *Blandenonae*; so does also Aldus’ edition of 1583, but at least it contains Paullus’ commentary with the reading of Sigonius. Still, fortune smiled on Sigonius’ idea. It was almost immediately endorsed by the great Dionysius Lambinus (1520–1572) in his boisterously acclaimed edition of Cicero (1565–66, and numerous later printings), and having received this seal of approval, it was spreading for the next several hundred years through the various *apparatus critici* and *notae variorum*; several noted Latinists admitted it into their text.

But carefully assessed it was not. To appreciate a conjecture, we must view it in its full context. The passage, as imagined by Sigonius, will read: *A.d. IIII Non. Iun., quo die Romam veni, accepi tuas litteras datas Placentia, deinde alteras postridie datas Laude Nonis. Nude positum*, without the commentary of Manutius at hand, this text invites misunderstanding. For on quick reading it is easy, natural almost, to comprehend *Nonis* as denoting the date on which the letter was dispatched—until we realize the nonsense of a missive sent from the Transpadana on June 5 and arriving in Rome on the third (or second)! And yet some rushing scholars imputed this nonsense to Sigonius and Manutius, although Manutius states clearly that in the word *Blandenonae* lies hidden the indication of the day on which Cicero received the letters, and he effusely lauds the conjecture of Sigonius, *hominis egregie docti, & quod hodie perquam rarum est, in iudicio litterarum elegantissimi* (“a man exquisitely learned, and, what nowadays is exceedingly rare, endowed with a fine discernment of literary style.”). If *Laude* was a brilliant and erudite brainwave, *Nonis* was far from elegant; it was desperate and clumsy. *Postridie*, never too clear, becomes awkward and redundant, as an attempt at a translation will illustrate: “then (I received) another letter, sent on the next day (i.e., after the letter from Placentia), on the Nones.” And so since the latter part of the nineteenth century critics have

generally condemned *Nonis*;¹⁸ and with this conceit gone, *Laude* was left adrift. As to *Nonis* they were certainly right,¹⁹ but *Laude*, geographically attractive and textually enticing, continued eliciting support. Several scholars advanced emendations preserving *Laude* and attempting to make sense of the remaining chunk of the word *Blandenone*. Fittingly none of these efforts, often clever but also forced, gained acceptance and none was ever admitted into the text of Cicero.²⁰

But the rescue was to come. It was sparked by the discovery in the second part of the word *Blandenone* not of a date, as Sigonius wished, but of another geographical indication. This discovery was due to T. Schiche.²¹ In the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*²² he found immediately after Laus Pompeia on the way toward Mediolanum the station for changing horses called *mutatio ad Nonum* (where *Nonum* denotes *lapidem* or *miliarium*), and proposed to read *a Laude ad Nonum*. This reading was instantaneously embraced by H. Sjögren; in a bold move he admitted it into his acclaimed Uppsala edition, and three years later into his Teubner text.²³ Still the initial *B* of the *paradosis* remained unaccounted for, tossed away without any apparent justification. Then Wilhelm Sternkopf inadvertently²⁴ produced what might appear a final remedy, brilliant

18 Cf. esp. Sternkopf (1906) 1044.

19 A glance at concordances shows that Cicero never places the indication of the date on which he received a letter in the position envisaged by Sigonius.

20 I put conjectured words in italics. Boot (1880) 35–36: “deinde alteras, postridie datas *Laude una* cum Caesaris litteris,” but ultimately he preferred to keep the received *Blandenone*; Koerner (1885) 41: “datas *Laude una* cum Caesaris litteris” (no mention of Boot); Purser (1901) 67–68 and Tyrrell-Purser (1906) 240 approve of Boot’s original idea; and most recently Caretta (1954) 73 and (1969) 226 embraces it wholeheartedly. Interestingly, up to these efforts, only one scholar after Sigonius attempted a conjecture, not a good one: the famous geographer P. Cluverius (1624, 242–43) read *Laude noua*. Otherwise the vulgate reigned, in various forms, *Blandenonae* or *Blandenonnae* in earlier editions, later *Blandenone* or *Blandenonne*. Some editors and commentators chose *aporia*, and obelized *Blandenone*, noting conjectures in the apparatus, including Wesenberg (1872) 611 (Teubner edition); and most recently Watt (1958) 73. Convenient (though partial) lists of *commentatores* and *emendatores* can be found at Oldfather et al. (1938) 87; Caretta (1954) 71.

21 Schiche (1908) 12–14.

22 *Itineraria* (1965) 25. The mile number in the *paradosis*, *milia vii*, must certainly be corrected to *ix*.

23 (1911) 69; (1914) 53. In his apparatus Sjögren does not acknowledge any other conjecture.

24 Sternkopf (1909) 651. In fact he does not claim this conjecture, but merely mistakenly attributes the reading *ab Laude* to Schiche, who of course read *a Laude*. This involved situation is probably responsible for the confusion in Constans’ apparatus (see the next

in its simplicity: he changed the preposition *a* to *ab*, with the resulting reading *ab Laude ad Nonum*. This *lectio* entered the edition of Cicero's letters by L.A. Constans.²⁵ Thus at long last Sigonius and his textual descendants conquered the venerable Teubner and Budé imprints.

Fortuna mobilis. A wayward conceit spread like a blight. It was excogitated by Paul Groebe, the indefatigable curator of the new edition of Wilhelm Drumann's sprawling prosopographical and historical *opus*. As others before him, now forgotten,²⁶ Groebe scoured the Transpadana looking for a modern name resembling Blandeno, and settled upon the locality Biandronno on Lago di Varese, lacus Verbanus of the Romans.²⁷ Groebe's article is rhetorically clever, and on the surface reasonably convincing. He acknowledges the textual *ingenium* of Sigonius, Schiche and Sternkopf, but finds their conjectures wanting as an explication of the movements of Caesar and Quintus. His main point is this. Quintus' letter from Placentia was delivered by a regular messenger; the second letter of Quintus and the letter of Caesar were carried by a *tabelarius* of Caesar, and Caesar's couriers were renowned for their velocity: they traveled at least twice as fast as the average messengers. It is thus incredible that a message sent from Laus Pompeia or from ad Nonum, respectively only 24 or 33 Roman miles more distant from Rome than Placentia, should have arrived in Rome only one day later (Groebe combines *accepi* with *postridie*)

note); it spilled over to the apparatus of Moricca (1955) 63, who ascribes this conjecture to Constans himself, as does also Caretta (1969) 220.

25 Constans (1950) 63. In his apparatus he credits this reading to Schiche, but in the next line introduces a correction: "[*sed a Laude Schiche*]." Sternkopf is not mentioned. See also his remarks in the introduction to the volume (p. 38). This is the fourth Budé edition, "revue et corrigée." I did not have earlier editions at hand, and was not able to establish when this reading was introduced. The *Index Général* to all volumes of the *Correspondance*, assembled by J. Beaujeu (vol. 11 [1996] 327), makes a hash of this conjecture introducing a monstrous and spurious place name "Laus ad Nonum (locus in Gallia Cisalp.?)."

26 Kapelle (1906) 2–7, after an involved argument, thought of Andematunnum in Gallia in the country of the Lingones (*Barr.* 17 C2), a conceit geographically and chronologically aberrant, and inadmissible paleographically. Still in the same year Schiche (1906) 11–13 had no difficulty in demolishing it. Much earlier, Ferrarius (Filippo Ferrari, 1551–1626) identified Blandeno with Broni (see Caretta [1969] 220–21, 225), linguistically equally inadmissible (cf. Olivieri [1961] 112), and historically too: the city of Broni is medieval in its origin, and an ancient settlement in its vicinity is recorded in the itineraries as Comillo- or Cameliomagus.

27 Groebe (1929) 107–11 = 688–92.

than the previous letter.²⁸ Consequently, he argued, we must seek for Blandeno much farther north, at the foothills of the Alps. And there, looking at the map, he experienced a moment of epiphany: Biandronno! Because in the transition from Latin to Italian the consonant sequence *bl* regularly becomes *bi*, Biandronno must be the long sought for Blandeno.²⁹ Important historical conclusions follow: Caesar chose the shortest way to Gaul, and crossed the Alps through the pass of Simplon.³⁰

Historians, topographers, and philologists rushed to endorse Groebe's argument.³¹ It is baffling how they all could be seduced by this sequence of loose possibilities becoming with each step more improbable. The final seal of approval (cancelling the seal of Lambinus) was appended by Shackleton Bailey when in his Loeb edition he penned this note in which the employment of impersonal passive adds an aura of finality: "(Blandeno) has been identified with Biandronno on Lago di Varese."³² In his text he retreated to safe, unknown, and bland Blandeno.

What is plainly wrong with Groebe's proposal is topography. A glance at the *Barrington Atlas* (map 39) shows that there are no traces of a Roman road

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- 28 What Groebe here introduces is just a possibility. It is important to establish, at least approximately, its likelihood. As to the speed of travel, and of couriers, he relied on the Friedländer (1922) 333–35, but this scholar assembled instances of top speed, and we should not assume that every courier of Caesar was bent on breaking records. We have to differentiate between official reports to the consuls and the senate (and Caesar will have already sent such a report about his successful dealings with the Pirustae) and private communications that could travel at a slower pace. See Bardt (1886) 14, 43 (table); Riepl (1913) 140–44; and recently, Kolb (2000) 322–25 (with tables).
- 29 Indeed Latin *bl* regularly produces Italian *bi*, but this would lead to the form Biandeno (or Biandenno, even Biandono or Biandonno), but hardly Biandronno, where the intrusion of *ro* remains unexplained. In a document of 828 there are attested the forms Blandaronno, Blanderonno; see Olivieri (1961) 86. He derives this denomination from the personal name Blandiro (Albucius Blandiro appears in the inscription *CIL* V 527 from Comum), an odd formulation: we should rather say that those names share the same root.
- 30 This idea, which had some earlier supporters, has been efficiently disposed of by Caretta (1969) 225. This pass is indicated in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, but not in the *Itinerarium Antonini*, and there is no evidence that it was used with any regularity in Republican times.
- 31 Della Valle (1943) 616–40, offers the most ardent support, occasionally erudite, but entangled in topographical and chronological improbabilities.
- 32 Shackleton Bailey (2002) 130. In his commentary (1980) 71, 198, he is more cautious: "P. Groebe's identification with Biandronno on Lago di Varese seems plausible." It is somewhat ironic that this great *emendator* preferred a shaky topographical idea to an enticing emendation. Moricca (1955) 63 is even more positive: "Blandenno, *hodie* Biandronno."

in the vicinity of Lago di Varese, whereas Caesar and Quintus certainly traveled toward an Alpine crossing along a major road. A perceptive historian writing about Caesar's building schemes in Rome in 54 observed in passing: "*Blandenone* in the MS is a puzzle; it is not easy to see what Caesar and Quintus on their way to Britain would have been doing on the Lago di Varese *pace* Shackleton Bailey *ad loc.*, and it may be easier to go back to one of the emendations that see Laus Pompeia as the place in question."³³ Indeed, it is high time to do so.

Linguistically there is nothing wrong with the received name form *Blandeno* (or *Blandenno*); similar names are amply attested.³⁴ But it must fit the context, and the context is that of Roman roads. Should we find such a name (or a similar one) along any of the possible routes Quintus took after leaving Placentia, we must embrace it. We know from itineraries names of scores of places through which Quintus could have passed. *Blandeno*, or anything resembling it, is not among them. There is a chance that it was not recorded; but there is also a good chance that the text, as we have it, is corrupt. Thus, until a toponomastic find would reveal the existence of a *mutatio* or *mansio* with the name of *Blandeno*, we are invited to explore the path of emendation, and this consideration leads us to revisit Schiche's (and Sternkopf's) conjecture, *ab Laude ad Nonum*.

Schiche takes the resulting enunciation (*litteras*)...*datas ab Laude ad Nonum* to mean that the letter was sent "am neunten Meilenstein hinter Laus," and to illustrate this phrase he adduces two examples: *efffoditur (pressum sil [a kind of ochre]) et ad XX ab urbe lapidem* (Plin. *HN* 33.159); (*fundus*) *qui est ad quartum vicesimum lapidem via Salaria a Roma* (Varro, *Rust.* 3.2.14). Obviously every road in Italy had its ninth mile marker, and an indication *ad nonum* was useless without appending the name of the road or the name of the city from which the miles were counted. However, Schiche's examples, and many other revealed by electronic searches,³⁵ do not offer perfect matches. They are structured differently: the indication of the distance precedes, not follows, the name of the city. Thus we might rather expect (*litteras*) *datas ad nonum (lapidem) a(b) Laude* or (*litteras*) *datas ad nonum a(b) Laude (lapidem)*. Only one passage may seem to provide a stylistic parallel. Pliny reports that an unnamed city located twelve miles from Aquileia was destroyed by a Roman commander, and he expresses this information in the following way: *ab Aquileia ad XII*

33 Purcell (1993) 129, n. 22. In fact only Sigonius' emendation posits Laus Pompeia as the place from which the letter was sent.

34 For a collection of such names, see Holder (1896) 444–47; also Della Valle (1943) 620–25.

35 *Asc. Mil.* 42.9–10 C., *Liv. Per.* 26.1, *Front. Aq.* 72.3, *Sen. Apocol.* 6.1, *Plin. HN* 14.69, *Suet. Vesp.* 1.3, *Tac. Hist.* 2.45.1, 2.88.1, 3.18.1, 4.11.2, *Vir. ill.* 35.6, 42.6, *Amp.* 28.3.

lapidem deletum oppidum (HN 3.131). However, the similarity is not complete. The crucial pieces of information, *deletum oppidum* and *litteras datas*, occur at markedly different positions. The phrase *ab Laude ad Nonum* remains stylistically isolated, and to uphold this emendation we must envisage a situation that fits exactly its word arrangement.

For the place from which a letter was sent Latin idiom normally employs the ablative, but if the stress was on *scribere* and not on *mittere* or *accipere* the place name would stand in the locative.³⁶ A problem arises in connection with names composed with the preposition *ad*, where this preposition already defines the location. Now on the stretch of the road from Laus Pompeia to Mediolanum, the expression *ad nonum* referred not only to the ninth milestone, but also functioned as the place name: *mutatio ad Nonum*. Thus the phrase *litterae datae ad nonum* (*lapidem*) means “sent (or written) *at* (and not *from*) the ninth *miliarium*.” But if we posit a letter as sent from Ad Nonum, the formula would have to be in this form: *ab Ad Nonum*, producing a collocation of prepositions never attested in the whole Latin corpus. With respect to all such names a full formulation is needed: *a(b) mutatione Ad Nonum*. Schiche prints *ad Nonum*, with the capital *N*, and thus regards it as a place name; but at the same time he talks of the ninth milestone, implying a simple indication of distance. This breeds confusion.

Prepositions live in their own universe; they trip the unwary and inform the attentive. And the preposition *ad* lives a dual life: it can indicate a location or a direction, and in both incarnations it governs the accusative. We have tried to elucidate difficulties and inconcinnities of the locative option. What about the option of direction?

Let us suppose that the letters of Quintus (and of Caesar) were composed neither at Laus nor at Ad Nonum, but dictated in *ipso itinere*, on the stretch of the road between Laus and Ad Nonum. How would Quintus indicate this circumstance? Clearly: *scripsi* (or *dictavi* or *sim.*) *ab Laude ad nonum*! In Cicero’s reply, this would produce (*litteras*) *datas ab Laude ad nonum*.³⁷

36 Cf. Babl (1893) 39–40; Kühner-Stegmann (1912) 158–59. If a place name was generally known, the ablative was generally *nude positus*; otherwise, particularly with reference to minor stops along a road, prepositions were employed (*a*, *ab*, occasionally *ex* and *de*), as for instance: *ab Appi Foro hora quarta. dederam aliam paulo ante a Tribus Tabernis* (Cic. Att. 2.10.1; he was traveling on the via Appia).

37 Which we may interpret as *ad nonum* (*lapidem*) or as (*ad mutationem*) *Ad Nonum*. But if we wished to approach the paradox even closer, we might consider dropping the preposition *ad* altogether, and read *ab Laude nonum* (or *Nonum*), thus producing a simple accusative of direction as e.g. at Suet. Vesp. 1.3: *locus . . . ad sextum miliarium a Nursia Spoletium euntibus*.

Schiche further believed that Quintus encountered Caesar precisely at the *mutatio* Ad Nonum. But no side roads appear to be converging at this spot; on the other hand slightly to the south of Laus Pompeia a shortcut from Cremona reached the main road leading from Placentia to Mediolanum. Schiche's idea also implies that Caesar, impatient to get to Gaul, took time, at a mere *mutatio*, to repose, to confer with Quintus, and to compose a letter to Cicero. There exist telling examples of letters composed in transit:

Cic. Att. 5.17.1: *hanc epistulam dictavi sedens in raeda cum in castra proficiscebar* ("I am dictating this letter sitting in a wagon on my way to the army"); Att. 6.4.3: *Haec festinans scripsi in itinere atque agmine* ("I write this hastily, on the road, and indeed on the march"). These letters Cicero sent from Cilicia, where he was governor, and thus also a military commander. It was becoming for a commander not to waste time when on the move. Caesar was indeed famous for his ability to dictate several letters simultaneously, even from horseback or from his sedan, and, astoundingly, to compose whole books on the road. It was "a part of Caesar's legend."³⁸ We are entitled, perhaps obliged, not to deny Caesar the opportunity of dictating his letter to Cicero on the road from Laus Pompeia to a *mutatio* nine miles away, and likely sharing his carriage with Quintus.³⁹ The road, a prolongation of via Aemilia, led straight to Mediolanum, and from this city Caesar could choose any Alpine pass, except the pass at the *Matrona mons*.⁴⁰

Topography informs history: whether we opt for Laus Pompeia and Ad Nonum or are still groping for Blandeno, toward the end of May 54⁴¹ Caesar was still to the south of the Alps, and this must be the starting point for any chronology of his campaigns in this year in Britain and Gaul.

38 So, aptly, Osgood (2009) 329, with references.

39 Caretta (1969) 220, 225–26, laudably has Caesar dictating his letter on the road, but at the same time he assumes that the letters of Quintus and Caesar were posted at Laus, and thus entertains two mutually exclusive propositions.

40 But most likely Caesar proceeded to Summus Poeninus (the Great St. Bernard), the pass he secured a few years previously (*BGall.* 3.1).

41 According to the civic calendar which, however, did not correspond to the astronomical. The Julian date will be somewhat earlier; see Holmes (1907) 706–35; and for a synopsis of various proposals, Marinone-Malaspina (2004) 291–96, 402.

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Using Sundials

George W. Houston

The ancients, it seems, were fond of sundials. Hundreds of ancient dials survive. They are mentioned in literature and inscriptions, and two writers, Vitruvius and Cetus Faventinus, provide instructions on how to construct them.¹ Even to list this material would be a major project, and in this paper I will limit the discussion to a relatively small and closely related set of topics: the basic characteristics of sundials (mostly Roman in date), the various ways the ancients used sundials, and some of the implications of all this.²

In a book that appeared in 1976, Sharon L. Gibbs catalogued and described all of the Greek and Roman sundials she could find (256, some complete but many fragmentary), and her book remains the basic catalogue and starting point for work on sundials.³ Despite her diligence, Gibbs missed some dials, and a good many more have been found and published since 1976; Karlheinz Schaldach has apparently assembled a list of 501 dials.⁴ My own database, the sundials I will consider in this article, is smaller, including 310 whole or fragmentary dials.⁵ Surviving dials range in date from the fourth century BC to the

1 Literature: e.g., Gell. *NA* 3.3.5, Plin. *HN* 7.212–14, Petron. *Sat.* 71.11. Inscriptions: examples later in this article. Instructions: Vitruvius *De arch.* 9.7 and 9.8.1, Cetus Faventinus 29. For the text and an analysis of Faventinus, see Pattenden (1979).

2 I will not discuss the evolution of sundials, the different types of dial, the technical knowledge that underlies them, or methods of construction. For their history and development, see the thorough account in Hannah (2009) 68–83 and 116–25; for the types of dial, see Gibbs (1976) 12–58 or Schaldach (1998) 29–40.

3 Gibbs (1976). Note, however, that Gibbs (and Schaldach [2006]) have now been superseded by Eva Winter's exhaustive catalog and discussion: *Zeitzeichen: Zur Entwicklung und Verwendung antiker Zeitmesser*, 2 vols., Berlin 2013. Unfortunately, Winter's work became available too late to be used in the present study.

4 Schaldach (2006). He does not give complete references to each dial, but lists the numbers found in each area of the Roman Empire. The numbers are online at Schaldach (2010). He has also proposed an online catalogue of Greek and Roman sundials: Schaldach (2011).

5 I omit eight of the dials in Gibbs (nos. 1015, 1064, 1065, 3092, 3093, 3098, 5007G, and 5018G) because they are too fragmentary, too poorly preserved, or too late in date to be of help in this paper. This is not the place for a complete list of supplements to Gibbs' catalogue, but I will refer to many of them in the course of the discussion. The principal additions to her

fourth or fifth century AD,⁶ and in size from an Egyptian limestone dial just 6.5 centimeters high to a dial now in Vienna that is 97.7 centimeters high, as well as a few the size of a building, including the dials on the Tower of the Winds in Athens.⁷ Sundials have been found in almost every large province of the Roman Empire (Britain and Lower Pannonia may be exceptions), and as far away as Afghanistan and Sudan.⁸ In towns, they can appear in large numbers: Gibbs lists no fewer than thirty dials from Pompeii and its immediate vicinity. Sundials, in short, were common items, close to ubiquitous by late antiquity, and most people in the Roman Empire had probably either consulted or at least seen one.⁹

We can begin with a brief look at the design of a more or less typical ancient sundial (figure 15.1). Unlike modern dials, ancient sundials were seldom flat round disks. Occasionally they were plane surfaces, either vertical or horizontal, but about 80 percent of the known dials look something like the one in our figure. The dial-maker began with a block of stone, typically 20 to 40 centimeters high. He cut a rounded surface (often conical or hemispherical) into the stone, and on that surface he cut a grid of hour lines and day curves, as indicated. At the top, a metal gnomon extended out over the grid, and the dial was placed so that the gnomon pointed due south. As the sun rose in the east, the tip of the gnomon would cast a shadow on the upper edge of the western side of the curved surface. Then, as the sun rose higher and moved across the sky, the shadow would gradually move down and across the grid, crossing the first and then the second hour lines, and so on through the day. In my drawing, the gnomon's shadow is falling between the third and the fourth hour lines, so we

collection, in terms of numbers of dials, are Catamo *et al.* (2000), Schaldach (2006), and Bonnin (2010).

- 6 Early dials: Schaldach (2004), a fourth-century BC dial from the Amphiareum at Oropus; Rohr (1980), of ca. 300 BC. Late: Gibbs 5002G, cf. *IG* 2.3.5208, late fourth century AD; our figure 2 below, from Aphrodisias, perhaps fifth century AD.
- 7 The small Egyptian dial: Gibbs 1040G. Note also a tiny ivory dial from Tanis in Egypt, 5.1 cm. wide: Evans and Marée (2008). The Vienna dial, probably from Ephesus: Gibbs 3058G. Tower of the Winds: Schaldach (2006) 61–83. What has been recovered of the so-called Sundial of Augustus in Rome was almost certainly not a sundial that could mark the hours but a meridian line to mark the seasons: Heslin (2007).
- 8 The dials in my list come from at least twenty-one provinces. Afghanistan: Rohr (1980); Sudan: Catamo *et al.* (2000) 219–20 and Gibbs 3089.
- 9 I do not include portable dials in this paper. Schaldach (1998) 41–47 discusses them and provides a list of twenty known examples.

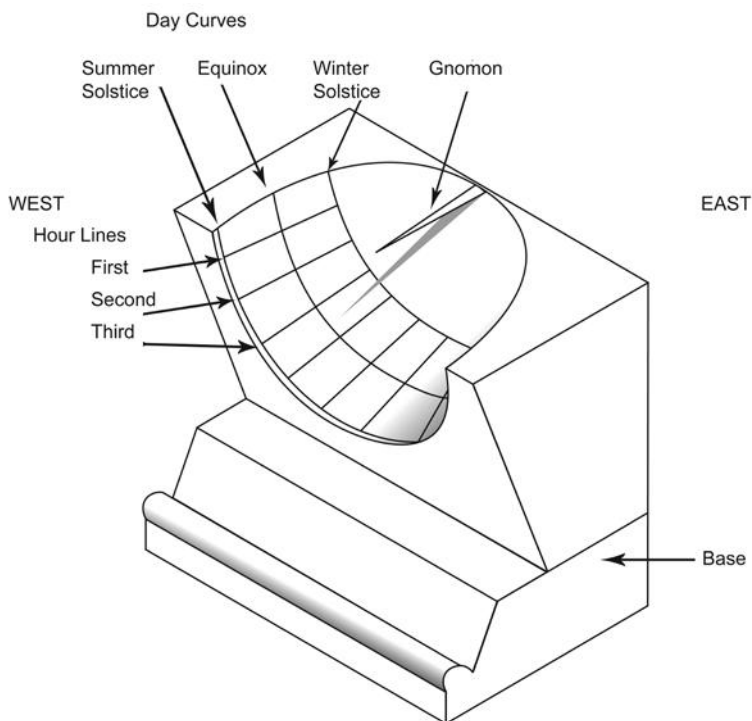


FIGURE 15.1 *Schematic drawing of a simple conical dial from Delos, based on Gibbs 3024G (photograph in her frontispiece). The original dial is 23 cm. high and 22.7 cm. wide. Drawing by Margaret Reid from a sketch by the author.*

are in the fourth hour. There are usually eleven hour lines, dividing the period of sunlight into twelve periods of equal length.¹⁰

Our sundial can do more than that, though, at least in theory. The sun rises higher in the sky during the summer than it does in the winter, and the shadow of the gnomon's tip will accordingly move up and down the shadow-receiving surface, falling on the various day curves as the seasons change. At the summer solstice, the sun is high overhead, and the shadow will fall on the summer solstice line. In late December, when the sun is low in the sky, it will run along

10 The hours are of course "seasonal hours"—they vary in length according to the season of the year, because the amount of daylight varies with the season and the Roman sundial simply divides the period of daylight into twelve equal parts. At the latitude of Rome there are in late December about ten hours of sunlight (by our reckoning), while in late June there are close to fifteen. Thus the Roman "hour" in late December would come to roughly forty-five minutes in our time, while an "hour" in June would last for seventy-five minutes.

the winter solstice line. In our drawing, the shadow of the gnomon's tip is close to the equinoctial line, so we are either a little before or a little after one of the equinoxes. Thus we can use our sundial both to tell us the hour of the day and as a rough calendar.

How accurate were these sundials? In general, of course, sundials have inherent limitations. They can be used only outdoors and when the sun is shining, and they must be placed in a space that is reasonably clear to the south, east, and west.¹¹ Apart from that, there may be faults in their design or construction. Day curves must be cut for a specific latitude if the tip of the gnomon's shadow is to fall on them at the right time of the year, and scholars with a knowledge of astronomy can often estimate the intended latitude of use of a dial.¹² There is much variation in level of accuracy. Some dials were precisely cut. The intended latitude of ten dials from Delos can be estimated, and Gibbs calculated that eight of those ten were cut to function at latitudes within two degrees of that of Delos.¹³ Dials from Athens, Cos, Dacia, Caria, Rhodes, Oplontis (Italy), and Wiesbaden (Germany) are all accurate to within one degree of latitude.¹⁴ In a few cases, particularly accurate dials have survived. Thus the large block from Tenos in the Cyclades (Gibbs 7001G) was designed by Andronicus of Cyrrhus; it is unusually elaborate and handsome, with four different shadow-receiving surfaces and a Greek verse inscription describing (among other things) Andronicus' debt to Aratus.¹⁵

There is, however, ample evidence that most dial-makers of the Roman period were not at all concerned with the accuracy of the day curves. In at least fourteen dials there are no day curves at all, and in four others there is a single circle that is probably just ornamental.¹⁶ Many dials have day curves

11 Jashemski (1979) 290 points out that a dial found in the peristyle garden of a Roman villa at Torre Annunziata "was properly located to function accurately, but it had no doubt become useless as the shade of the great chestnut [tree] covered the garden."

12 Throughout this paper I rely upon the latitudes that have been calculated and published by other scholars.

13 Gibbs 1072G, 3024G, 3026G, 3039G, 3029G, 3030G, 4001G, and 5008G.

14 Gibbs 3008G, 3039G, 6002G, 3049G, 3037G, Catamo *et al.* (2000) 217–18, and Schaldach (1998) 71–78 respectively. Here, and in the rest of this paper, I cite some examples on each point but in most cases do not give a complete list of every relevant sundial. When I do cite every known example, I will note that fact.

15 The inscription is *IG* 12.5.2.89; the drawing there shows what an impressive object it is. Andronicus also designed the Tower of the Winds in Athens (Varro *RR* 3.5.17, Vitruvius 1.6.4).

16 Examples of dials with no day curves at all: Schaldach 7 (now in Athens), Gibbs 1005G (Sicily), and Schaldach 31 (Corinth). Bonnín (2010) 190, no. 3 (northeastern Spain) has a single circle.

that imply intended latitudes very different from the latitude of their provenance. Two from Delos (latitude approximately $37^{\circ} 30'$) were cut for latitudes of about 25° or 26° , or about 700 miles south of Delos, and many other dials have been found at latitudes not indicated by their design.¹⁷ Schaldach (2006), studying forty-three dials from Greece, thought that at least seven had been made with day curves that were never intended to function as day curves, and he accordingly classed them as *Pseudodatumslinie* ("pseudo-day curves," i.e., non-functional curves). Also telling is the internal consistency of the grid. It is often possible to calculate the latitude intended for the winter solstice curve and compare that to the latitude implied by the summer solstice curve. Using Gibbs' figures for conical dials, we have fifty-five dials for which both of these figures can be estimated. Of those, thirteen show discrepancies between the two solstice curves that range from four to ten degrees of latitude, and another thirteen vary more than ten degrees.¹⁸ That is, if you used one of these last thirteen dials at a point where it correctly showed you the winter solstice in late December, you would then need to move the dial some 700 miles north or south to have it indicate the summer solstice in late June. Generally speaking, we do not know the cause of all these inaccuracies. In any given case, the grid may have been poorly designed, the execution may have been faulty, the curves may have been added to make the dial seem technically sophisticated, or the dial may have been moved from one place to another. Whatever the cause, the important thing to note is that these dials were made, kept, and set out in the sun even though they gave inaccurate, and sometimes wildly inaccurate, readings.

Now consider the hour lines. Hour lines are not as seriously affected by changes in latitude as day curves are.¹⁹ They will be more or less accurate and divide the period of daylight into twelve equal parts if there are eleven of them and they are straight, equidistant from one another, and not too broad, and if the dial is properly leveled. Many surviving dials satisfy these criteria, although we cannot know if they were leveled properly. Examples drawn from Schaldach's collection of forty-three dials found in Greece include his

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- 17 The Delos stones are Gibbs 3027G and 3031G. Some other examples: Catamo *et al.* (2000) 210–11, found in the suburbs of Rome, but designed for some seven to ten degrees further south; Schaldach (1998) 94–100 was found in Neuss (ancient Novaesium) but cut for the latitude of Rome, leading Schaldach to suggest that it was designed for and cut in Rome, then taken to Germany.
- 18 For example: Gibbs 3010G (Athens, 14° difference); 3023G (Piraeus, 12°); 3049G south face (Heraclea ad Latmum, Turkey, 14°); 3071G (Pompeii, 14°).
- 19 Hannah (2009) 135.

catalogue numbers 2, 4, and 5 (all Athens), 26 (Megara), 28 (Isthmia), and 39 (Petres in Macedonia).

Makers of dials sometimes tried to make it easier for the user to read the dials and tell the hour at a glance. They might number the hours, as we see in dials from Egypt, Athens, Jordan, and elsewhere.²⁰ The lines for the third, sixth, and ninth hours were sometimes extended above the winter solstice line toward the gnomon, or below the summer solstice line, so that it would be easy to distinguish them from the other hour lines. On a few dials, the third, sixth, and ninth hours are marked with an X or an O; again, this would make it easier to determine the hour at a glance.²¹ Lines could be colored, ordinarily with red, to contrast with the stone.²² All of this implies that the maker did expect other people to use the dial to tell the hour of the day. We must, though, be careful. Just how precisely did such dials mark the passage of time?

We may note first that sundials indicate hours, but that they almost never divide the hours into smaller units of time. Two dials (Gibbs 3007; Schaldach 26) survive that indicate half-hours, but no dial provides a time division smaller or more exact than that. Smaller divisions of time, such as some equivalent to our minutes, are out of the question: it would have been almost impossible to fit sixty, or even ten, marks, between the hour lines on most dials, given that the distance from one hour line to the next was just a few centimeters. So the times indicated by sundials were approximate even when a dial was carefully cut.²³

Of course, not all dials were carefully cut. The hour lines on many dials are erratic. In some cases they curve or waver, and in some they are unevenly spaced across the shadow-receiving surface, so that the hours they indicate will vary in length.²⁴ Occasionally the dial-maker lacked skill in stone-cutting,

20 Gibbs 3086G, Schaldach 13, and Schaldach (1998) 50 fig. 34, respectively.

21 Gibbs 2023G (Pergamum); Gibbs 3067G (Pompeii). Lines extended below the summer solstice line: Gibbs 1034 (from near Ostia); Gibbs 1056G (provenance unknown).

22 Most surviving examples are from Pompeii. Thus Gibbs 1024G, 1026G, and 1027G. Gibbs 3023G = Schaldach 25, now in the Piraeus Museum, has red paint in the day curves and meridian, black paint in the morning hour lines. Red coloring in the grid lines was probably a common practice.

23 When small units of time were needed, for example by astronomers, the ancients turned to inflow water clocks, although they too presented problems. For brief comments on water clocks, see Houston (1989) 63–4, with n. 7.

24 Lines that are not straight: Schaldach 10 and 15 (both now in Athens), 27 (Isthmia); Bonnin (2010) 190, no. 3, from Florejac in NE Spain. Uneven spacing: Gibbs 3061G (Ostia); Gibbs 3072G (Pompeii); Schaldach 8 (Athens). In the last one, the angles between the hour lines vary from 13° to 17°, making some hours almost 25 percent longer than others.

and the hour lines are so broad that they take up a measurable part of an hour.²⁵ A small number of stones have virtually every flaw possible. Schaldach 27 from Isthmia has no day lines at all, and its hour lines are neither straight nor fine; the whole dial is crude.²⁶ In a few cases, there are too many or too few hour lines.²⁷ If you consulted a dial that you had never seen before, you would need to be careful; a quick glance might be quite misleading.

There is another problem: there might be no sundial near where you happened to be. How, then, did you find out what hour it was? Wealthy men, of course, could send a slave to check the time on the nearest reliable sundial.²⁸ And if you did not have such a slave? We hear of heralds or town criers who would cry out the hours, although the evidence is slim: Varro *L.* 6.89 quotes a certain Cosconius as saying that the praetor could have a crier (*accensus*) announce the third, sixth, and ninth hours, and mentions a passage from comedy in which a herald announces the sixth hour.²⁹ Either of these procedures—sending your own slave, or waiting as the crier circulated through town—will have resulted in a delay of some sort. In short, exact time as we know it did not exist in the ancient world. This is not meant as a criticism; there is no reason to expect the ancients to build time-keeping devices that meet our standards. Rather, the point is that by observing the widespread use of such approximate time we can learn something of the ancient worldview. One of the characteristics of life would be that time was flexible. You would often need to wait for others to show up or things to begin, even if an hour to meet had been specified.

25 Schaldach 15 (Athens) and 31 (Corinth).

26 Schaldach generally ascribes stones with poor workmanship to late antiquity. That may be correct, but one wonders if some of them might have been practice dials, the products of apprentice dial-makers. For another example of an error-filled dial, see Bonnin (2010) 191, no. 8.

27 Schaldach 7 (Athens, and probably complete) has only nine hour lines. Dials with thirteen hour lines: Gibbs 3083G (Altino, Italy); 1054G (Moesia); 3076 (Rome); 1012 (Tivoli). One dial may have fourteen hour lines: Gibbs 5009, from a house on Delos.

28 Hannah (2009) 105.

29 Varro is discussing the word *accensus*, an assistant, he says, of the praetor. Similarly, the consuls had an *accensus* who announced the noon hour (Plin. *HN* 7.212). In the passage cited, Varro takes *accensus* as the equivalent of *praeco*, and it may be that one of the ordinary duties of a *praeco* was to call out the hours. Church bells in western countries and calls to prayer in Muslim towns have performed similar functions; cf. Sjöberg (1960) 104–5. The identity of Cosconius is not quite certain; see “Cosconius 11” in *RE* 4.1669 (Goetz) for a possible second-century BC date.

Despite all of this, Greeks and Romans found hours useful, and sundials were needed to mark the passage of those hours. Martial (4.8) describes the typical activities of a day, hour by hour, and we can identify a number of circumstances where, in Roman times, one might need to know the hour. Judicial or quasi-judicial proceedings might start and end at specific hours. At the trial of Milo in 52 BC, the prosecutors' speeches began during the second hour and were limited by law to two hours.³⁰ In wax tablets from the Bay of Naples, we learn that testimony in an arbitration proceeding was set to begin at the third hour on various days, and to end on the fourth or fifth hour.³¹ Stage performances might be set to start at specific hours, at least on special occasions. Plays scheduled for the days following the *ludi saeculares* at Rome in 19 BC were scheduled to start at the second, third, and fourth hours (*ILS* 5050, lines 156–58). Scheduling of this sort may have been unusual, for in the many announcements of upcoming gladiatorial contests known from Pompeii and neighboring towns, the days and amenities are spelled out, but the time when the combats will begin is never mentioned.³² Presumably you just showed up and waited for things to start. In Rome and other cities some private citizens drew water off the public supply, the amount they could draw being limited by both the size of the pipe they could use and by time. A property owner in an inscription of uncertain date (*CIL* 6.1261, with Henzen's notes *ad loc.*), for example, could draw water legally from the second to the sixth hour. Other contexts involving specific hours include dinner invitations (Hor. *Epist.* 1.7.71); the open hours of a municipal bath (*ILS* 6891, lines 19–21); and the diagnoses and recommendations of physicians (Celsus, *Med.* 3.4.18, 3.22.12, Cato *Agr.* 156.4).³³ People often kept track of the hour when they were born, or when a child was born, as we learn from the many sepulchral inscriptions that report the length of the deceased's life, down to the number of days and hours he or she lived.³⁴

30 Asc. ed. Clark 36: *usi sunt ex lege horis duabus*. We cannot be quite sure that these were hours as determined by a sundial. In the late first century AD, judicial speeches were timed not by solar hours but by outflow water clocks: Hannah (2009) 103–4, citing, e.g., Mart. 6.35.

31 Camodeca (1999) 103–11, nos. 34 to 39. Similarly, in a municipal charter from Spain it is forbidden for a certain judicial proceeding to begin before the first hour or continue after the eleventh (*ILS* 6087, the *Lex Ursonensis*, chapter 102).

32 Sabbatini-Tumolesi (1980) 17–110 gathers the texts.

33 It is striking that Cato thinks in terms of hours, because in his day sundials were still relatively new to Italy.

34 The Clauss-Slaby database (online at <http://www.manfredclauss.de/>) lists 330 inscriptions containing the formula *vixit . . . horis*. Among the first dozen or so are those of an *eques Romanus* who lived 56 years and 8 hours (*AE* 1907.132, Rome) and of a child who lived 2 years, 11 months, 23 days, and 7 hours (*AE* 1980.154, Rome).

In short, there were numerous circumstances when hours mattered, and the gift of a dial to a town was worth recording in an inscription and might even be cause for celebration: in Africa Proconsularis, we read of a will in which the deceased left money to pay for a feast (*epulum*) on the day of dedication of the *horologium* he had funded (*AE* 2006.1755), and in Baetica a *duovir* seems to have arranged for races in the circus and stage performances when he gave a sundial to the town (*CIL* 2.1685). However useful and welcome a sundial may have been, it was not expected that things would begin on the dot of the hour. There was no dot. We may further infer that the ancients were not concerned by this fact, nor were they worried by the passage of small amounts of time.³⁵ It was not important to them that the length of the hours varied with the seasons, that two sundials placed near one another might record somewhat different times, or that their hours tended to be rather fuzzy-edged.³⁶ Approximate time is what they needed and expected, and approximate time is what their sundials gave them.

To this point, we have been using as evidence the lines drawn on the shadow-receiving surfaces of sundials. It will be useful now to turn to other aspects of the dials. The bases of many and probably most sundials, and sometimes the dials themselves, were decorated in one way or another. The decoration was usually simple. In about fifty of our sample of 310 dials, the base has feet—lion's feet or stylized feet—at each side of the base, facing the viewer. Other decorative devices include rosettes, leaves, vines, calyxes with tendrils, cherubs, and crescent moons carved in low relief on the front, sides, or both. These appear to be standard decorative elements, perhaps drawn from pattern books, but presented in an endless series of different combinations.³⁷ Several dozen sundials were provided with more elaborate decorative or sculptural elements. Boats or parts of them appear on the bases of dials found in Altino in Italy (Gibbs 2001G), on Delos (Gibbs 1072G), and in Sparta (Schaldach 33). In several cases, the dial itself is made to rest on a human or animal figure: a small kneeling Atlas (Gibbs 1034); a male figure perhaps Atlas (Gibbs 3054G, from Pergamum); a young woman's head (Gibbs 3099, from France); a bull's head and horns (Gibbs 6002G, from Dacia). In other cases, there is a figure in low relief on the base: a youth playing a lyre in a garden with animals (Gibbs

35 There were exceptions. Pliny the Elder thought that any time not spent on work was time wasted (Plin. *Ep.* 3.5.16, cf. Plin. *Ep.* 3.5.12).

36 They did notice these aspects of sundials. Seneca *Apocol.* 2.2 comments on the lack of agreement between different dials.

37 Schaldach took the relief on his number 19 to be reminiscent of the relief on the Ara Pacis in Rome.

1054G, found in Bulgaria); two men facing one another and holding flowers above a vase, perhaps a Mithraic scene (Gibbs 3045);³⁸ and four standing figures, including two female figures who may represent day and night.³⁹ In all, some two dozen dials of our 310 have elaborate or unique decorative elements, and about seventy have standard simple decorations. Many, however, are too fragmentary for us to know anything of their decoration.

On many sundials, inscriptions function in part as decorative elements: technical Greek vocabulary on the face of a dial (as in figure 15.2), or a text on the base in Greek, Latin, or some other language (several are attested) could be visually attractive and constitute an important element of the decorative scheme of the dial. Interestingly, we never find moralizing mottoes of the sort that became common on later European sundials. No inscription on any known ancient dial contains a motto such as “As the sun runs, so death comes,” or the more cheerful “I count the bright hours only.”⁴⁰ Sundials, that is, do not seem to have acquired a generally recognized symbolic meaning.⁴¹ They were practical objects, and that was enough.

In their original settings, many sundials must have been striking visual objects. Their regular grids, in some cases painted deep red, the solid handsome blocks of marble of which most of them were made, the bronze gnomons, the various decorative elements on the base, and the inscriptions on the shadow-receiving face or the base would combine to make the sundial visually appealing. It will come as no surprise, then, that private citizens used them to grace their garden peristyles,⁴² and that a sundial might be a welcome addition to a public space in a town or an appropriate gift for a divinity.

38 The Mithraic connection is a suggestion of Hüttig (2000) 163. He notes that the dial, which was found on the island of Kephalos, Greece, seems to have been designed for a latitude close to that of Alexandria, so it may have been moved far from its place of origin.

39 Rohr (1966) 48, from France. Two other figures on this base may represent Diana and Mercury.

40 Several hundred such mottoes are collected in Hogg (1914). The two I quote are on pages 31 and 16 respectively.

41 We can note a few exceptions. Davis (1956) noticed that a passage in Valerius Maximus employs a sundial as a symbol for the passage of life. Traversari (1991) points out that sundials of a particular design appear on some twenty sarcophagi of the third century. The fictional Trimalchio wanted to have a sundial on his tomb (Petron. *Sat.* 71.11). But examples such as these are rare.

42 Gibbs 1020G, 1025G, 1028G, 1029G, 3064G, 3072G, and 4005G all certainly or probably came from private houses in Pompeii. Many of the other dials that Gibbs found in the archaeological storerooms at Pompeii probably came from private houses as well.

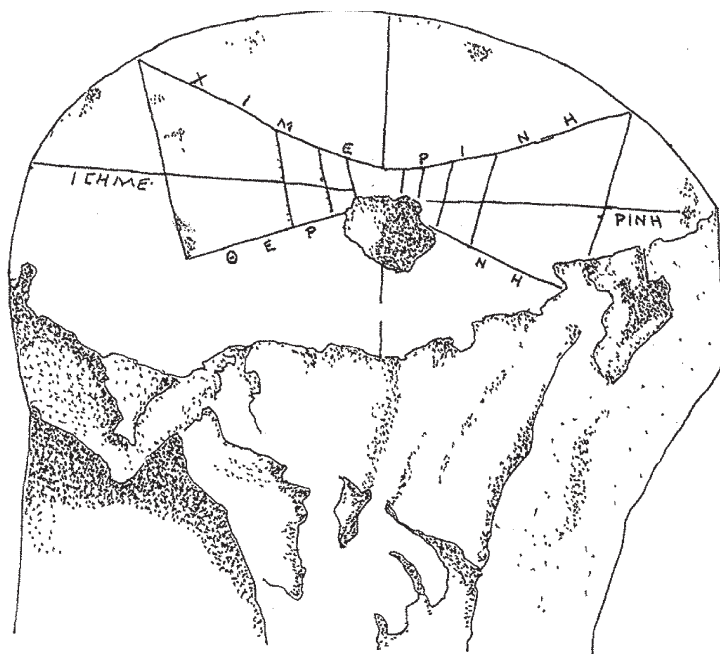


FIGURE 15.2 *Surviving fragment of a horizontal plane dial from Aphrodisias, probably fifth century AD. A vertical gnomon in the middle cast a shadow along the day curves, which are labeled, from top to bottom, chimerine (sc. trope) or “winter solstice,” isemerine or “equinox,” and therine or “summer solstice.” There are eleven hour lines as well. Drawing by the author after the photograph in Pattenden (1981) Plate 2.*

Towns sometimes erected sundials at public expense. We can assume that such dials were placed in public spaces and intended as a convenience for the citizens of the town. I give here a number of examples.⁴³

Alatri, in central Italy. Lucius Betilienus Vaarus, acting “in accord with the senate,” set up a sundial and also provided walkways, a portico, a playing field, a market place, an aqueduct, and other public works.⁴⁴

43 I assume that the dial was erected at public expense if the person responsible for its erection was a magistrate of the town and makes no claim to have paid for it out of his own funds. I omit a few inscriptions where the *horologium* is likely to have been not a sundial but a water clock: thus, e.g., *CIL* 12.2522 and *AE* 2001.1545.

44 *CIL* 1.1529, cf. *CIL* 1² *Addenda*, 1002–1003. The town in gratitude made Vaarus censor. It is possible that Vaarus paid for all of these projects himself, but the lack of any formula such as *d(e) s(uo)*, the sheer number of projects, their cost, and the fact that he was

Bevagna, near Perugia. Two men who seem to be quaestors erected a sundial.⁴⁵
Clarus, near Ephesus. The *agoranomus* (= aedile) erected a sundial near the temple of Apollo (Gibbs 3051G).

Curubis, in Africa Proconsularis. Two aediles saw to the construction of a *pluteus perpetuus*, at least two *scholae*, and a sundial.⁴⁶

Pompeii. A quaestor contracted for the erection of a sundial, to be paid for with money from fines (*pecunia multatitia*), after a vote of the local senate.⁴⁷

More often, however, sundials were paid for not by the *res publica* but by magistrates or prominent local men, evidently as benefactions intended at least in part to win political favor. Sometimes they act with the explicit approval of the local senate or council. In other cases, such approval is not stated but can probably be assumed. Some examples follow.

Bulla Regia, in Africa Proconsularis. [...]neius Victor was elected *flamen perpetuus* and in gratitude gave the town, at his own expense, several structures, including a speaker's platform and a *horologium*.⁴⁸

Dium, in Macedonia. An aedile dedicated a dial to Liber Pater at his own expense—*d(e) s(uo)*—and erected it not far from the theater in the Sanctuary of Dionysus.⁴⁹

Heraclea Lyncestis, in Macedonia. Lucius Marius set up a *horologium d(e) p(ecunia) s(ua)* (AE 1973.489). No magistracy is mentioned.

Marruvium, in east-central Italy. Two *IIIviri iuridicundo* set up a sundial *de sua pecunia* (AE 1975.306).

Melos, in the Aegean. [...]ios Soreinianus, archon of Melos, set up a dial at his own expense and on his own land (IG 12.3.1101).⁵⁰

(subsequently?) censor all suggest that public funds were involved. The date is not certain, probably late second or early first century BC.

45 Filippetti (1997–2000). The text is in Umbrian, uses the Etruscan alphabet, and is obviously early, perhaps second century BC. For a photograph: www.panoramio.com/photo20391511, accessed September 2012.

46 CIL 8.978. It is not entirely clear what the *pluteus* and *scholae* were. Perhaps the *pluteus* was some sort of enclosing wall, the *scholae* spaces for study and work.

47 Gibbs 3071G. The inscription is in Oscan, and the dial is presumably early, perhaps first century BC.

48 CIL 8.25532 and 8.25533: *sua pecunia exornavit idemque dedicavit*.

49 Schaldach 40, improving on AE 1954.25.

50 The specific reference to his own land suggests that the spots for dials were ordinarily provided by the *res publica* or were within, say, a temple sanctuary. Thus the dial at Tucci, below.

Pagus Laebactium, in northeastern Italy. Two men gave a *horilegium* to the *pagani Laebactes* in honor of Nero. No magistracies are mentioned, nor any specific reason for honoring Nero (*CIL* 5.2035).

Pompeii. Two *duoviri i(uri) d(icundo)* gave a *schola* and a *horologium d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia)* (*CIL* 10.831). A dial found in the so-called Foro Triangolare is probably the dial mentioned in the inscription.

Tucci (= ancient Colonia Augusta Gemella), in Baetica. Marcus Val(erius), *duumvir*, gave a sundial to the town at his own expense, *omni [impensa sua]*. It was placed on a site provided by the town, so there must have been negotiations between Valerius and the town prior to the erection of the dial (*CIL* 2.1685).

Vienna, in Gallia Narbonensis. A *sevir Augustalis* gave a dial to the town.⁵¹

Volterra, in Etruria. Quintus Poena Aper, *IIIvir* and *aedilis*, erected a dial *d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia)* (*CIL* 11.1749).

Zraya (= ancient Zarai oppidum), in Numidia. Two men had vowed a *horilegium* and now give and dedicate it *de suo* to their fellow-citizens (*CIL* 8.4515, dated AD 237).

Our sample is limited, but so far as it goes it indicates that towns seldom had to allocate public funds to acquire a sundial. Instead, benefactors were willing and able to see to the erection of dials in public places. Sundials would have been relatively inexpensive, certainly less costly than bronze statues or most small buildings, and in that regard they would have made suitable objects for men of moderate wealth to give to their towns. It is probably not a coincidence that, among the men who gave sundials, we find no men of senatorial rank, and only one equestrian; such men of wealth would give more showy and prestigious items.⁵² We may note also that no known donor of a dial ever mentioned how much he spent on the dial. This may be due to the chance survival of our inscriptions, but it may also be due to the fact that the expense was not impressive enough to advertise.

Sundials could also be appropriate gifts to divinities. A dial might be an ex-voto, a gift bestowed in hopes of future favors, or simply a gift that associated the giver with the god. The inscriptions known to us reveal a wide range

⁵¹ *CIL* 12.1893: *de su[a pec(unia)]*. The dial was later restored by the town.

⁵² The *eques*: *CIL* 14.3947 (Nomentum, in Latium; early Empire). It is worth noting also that a slave member of the *Familia Caesaris* gave a sundial to the Praetorium Publilianum, where he served as *dispensator* (*AE* 1975.232); the Praetorium Publilianum was probably an imperial villa. Slaves are not usually associated with evergetism, but perhaps sundials were within their budgets.

of divine recipients of *horologia*. We have six dials dedicated to five different Olympian divinities: two to Jupiter and one each to Apollo, Artemis, Liber Pater, and, probably, Hermes.⁵³ One of the dedications to Jupiter (Gibbs 1063G) associates or identifies him with Sol Invictus, and Apollo was often identified with Helios the sun god, so that in these two cases sundials may have seemed particularly appropriate gifts.⁵⁴ In addition to Olympian divinities, we find two different dials offered to the Theoi Megaloi (Great Gods) and one each to the Nine Muses and to Isis Regina.⁵⁵ A certain Philip son of Autophon dedicated a dial to Good Fortune, (the) Good God (*agathos daemon*), and the people (i.e., of the island of Cos), and on Delos a dial was dedicated by an unnamed donor to a demigod (Ἡρώς) whose name is obscure.⁵⁶ A number of dials contain wind roses or the names of the (divine) winds or both. These would include the second-century BC Tower of the Winds in Athens (Schaldach 1) and a handsome dial with a wind rose surrounded by the names of eight winds that was made or dedicated by Marcus Antistius Euporus at Aquileia.⁵⁷ In sum, the dials dedicated to divinities point in the same direction as those given to towns: they were useful and attractive gifts, but, except for the Tower of the Winds, they were not particularly expensive ones, and the donors, so far as we can tell, were private citizens of ordinary status. No dial known to us was dedicated to a god *ex visu*; that is, no donor had dreamed that a divine figure had appeared to him to request or demand a sundial.

Attractive and practical, sundials had numerous uses. Some were designed and constructed with great care and could serve as astronomical instruments. Many were cut carefully enough to indicate the solstices and equinoxes and probably served primarily as calendars,⁵⁸ but this use of sundials seems to have become less important over the course of time, and few sundials of Roman

53 Jupiter: Gibbs 1063G, where I(ovis) O(ptimus) M(aximus) is combined or paired with Sol Invictus; *CIL* 9.2324. Apollo: Gibbs 8002. Artemis: *SEG* 37.527. Liber Pater: Schaldach 40; the dial was dedicated not just to Liber but to his Thiasus as well. Hermes: Schaldach 24; but cf. *SEG* 31.456, noting that the name of the god is not certain.

54 The dedication to Apollo, however, probably dates to the second century BC and may be earlier than his identification with Helios. But note also the dedication of a dial within the sanctuary of Apollo at Clarus, cited above.

55 Theoi Megaloi: Schaldach 10, cf. *IG* 2².5216; Accame (1941–43) 97–100, no. 17. Muses: Schaldach 43. Isis: *AE* 1972.168 = *AE* 2006.405.

56 Cos: Gibbs 8003 = Herzog (1899) 137 no. 57. Delos: Gibbs 3025G. The stone seems to read IHNΩ / NΩNI / [H]PΩI.

57 Gibbs 4002G = Pagliari (1991).

58 Hannah (2009) 113, citing de Solla Price. Hannah notes, however, that even the earliest known sundials have at least some type of hour line.

imperial date would have served reliably as calendars. Almost all dials, however, could divide the period of daylight into twelve parts with reasonable accuracy, a function that was helpful in a variety of contexts. Beyond that, a sundial might be decorated with low reliefs on its base, or by the inclusion of technical Greek within the grid of day curves and hour lines. Greek terms could add to the visual interest of a dial (cf. figure 15.2) and attest to the scientific sophistication (real or otherwise) of the owner. Given these attributes, sundials made appropriate gifts to towns and divinities, both of whom seem to have appreciated them (towns perhaps somewhat more than gods). We may also assume, although we cannot prove, that they were occasionally given by individuals to friends or family, perhaps to serve as decorative elements in private gardens. So much for the *ancients'* uses of dials. And *ours*? We can put ancient sundials to yet another use: they help us understand the way the ancient Greeks and Romans perceived and ordered time, and they document clearly the ancients' general lack of concern with the temporal precision that modern societies take for granted.⁵⁹

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59 Talbert (2010) 264–69 puts ancient sundials to use in yet another way, arguing that they should be included as evidence in any discussion of the ancients' ability to understand geography and to profit from that understanding.

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The Healing Springs of Latium and Etruria

John F. Donahue

While returning to his native Gaul in response to political turmoil in the early fifth century AD, Rutilius Namatianus, a wealthy aristocrat, poet, and prefect of Rome, made a detour to a well-known thermal center in Etruria, the Aquae Tauri, or “Springs of the Bull,” a few miles north of modern Civitavecchia. The visit, recorded in his partially preserved elegiac poem, *De Reditu Suo*, was so pleasant and the springs so inviting that Rutilius claimed it was difficult to know whether to use the waters for bathing or for drinking:

It is a help to us that we recognize the thermal springs
named after the bull; the three-mile trip is not a bothersome
detour. There the wells are not spoiled by a bitter taste nor
are the warm waters colored with fuming sulfur: the fresh
fragrance and delicate taste force the bather to hesitate
for what purpose the waters should be better used. (249–254)

The account is of interest for several reasons. First, it records an actual visit to such a place by an ancient author, a rare occurrence in the sources. Second, it reveals that the site remained popular enough in the fifth century to be included in one’s travel plans, even if it required a slight detour. Finally, the passage confirms that it was the waters themselves that continued as the main attraction for the ancient traveler. In this case it was the fresh waters that were to Namatianus’ liking, although springs of this sort were even better known for their therapeutic properties, as we shall see in more detail later.

The purpose of this contribution is to place the experiences such as those of Namatianus into a larger social and historical framework by examining the springs of ancient Latium and Etruria, especially the role they played as sources of relief from a variety of physical ailments. To be sure, spas and springs have been recognized as playing an important role in Mediterranean social history, with the result that in recent years the famous thermal waters of Baiae, Campania, North Africa, and the eastern Mediterranean have all received attention.¹ Less well studied, however, have been those establishments

¹ Purcell (2000) 416; Yegul (1992) 93–110; Jackson (1990) 5–7; Houston (1992); Allen (2003); Dvorjetski (2007).

in Latium and Etruria where we find a number of thermal springs that were well known for treating all kinds of maladies among a broad segment of the populace, including the emperors. This essay focuses on the nature of these sites as attested in the ancient sources, what we can know about those who visited them, including Roman emperors, and how we might imagine the Italian spa in the wider contexts of ancient religion and travel.

Preliminary Matters

Before turning to the spas of Latium and Etruria in more detail, two general considerations deserve attention. First, by spa or thermal spring, I will mean any site where visitors could use thermal or mineral waters that were naturally occurring for therapeutic purposes. While this definition may sound reasonable enough, it is a far more challenging task to verify the sites themselves that fit these criteria. For one thing, the Romans were not always clear about what constituted a spa or thermal spring. Indeed, there was no single definition to describe such a place; instead, the most common designations we find are *aquae* or sometimes *fontes*.² In fact, nearly all of the sites assembled in the catalogue accompanying this essay are identified by one of these two terms. There are other challenges besides. Many of these sites are mentioned only in the literary texts and cannot be confirmed by any archaeological remains. In some respects this is not so surprising. Some springs must have simply dried up over time; others were in remote areas difficult to locate; still others were likely sealed up or partly or completely destroyed by subsequent structures.³ The evidence, therefore, is far from tidy. Even so, there is still much that we can learn. My approach will be to include in this study only those springs in Latium and Etruria that with certainty can be identified as healing spas through the ancient literary sources or archaeological remains (or both). This will necessarily exclude those many spas in modern Italy that often immodestly boast of their Roman origins but for which we have no ancient attestation, as well as those ancient springs that our sources happen to be mention in passing without any indication of a therapeutic function. This approach seems the most reasonable way to remain true to the ancient evidence.

A second issue has to do with the therapeutic nature itself of these waters. To the Romans, the power of naturally occurring springs in providing relief from any number of afflictions was deeply rooted in a wider Mediterranean belief in the efficacy of hydrotherapy, a practice that can be traced as far back

² Allen (2003) 405; Houston (1992) 357.

³ Jackson (1990) 1.

as Hippocrates in the fifth century BC. Important here was the role of hot and cold waters in regulating and balancing the humors of the body in order to promote health and avoid disease. Indeed, several of the sites included in this survey were known for their hot (Aquae Pisanae and Aquae Tauri) or cold (Aquae Albulae, Cutiliae, Labanae and Fontes Clusinae) waters. Asclepiades continued to promote this humoral/hydrotherapeutic regimen in the second century BC, as did Celsus in the first century AD. Later, Galen further developed the Hippocratic belief that immersion in such waters helped to prepare the body for the assimilation of nutriment from food, a notion that was repeated by Oribasius in the fourth century AD.⁴

For the Romans then this was a genuine form of treatment, one that was legitimized by medical opinion and popularized over a long period of time. As a result, it is no wonder that visitors to the ancient spas of Latium and Etruria sought relief from all kinds of afflictions, including wounds, asthma, stomach and bladder problems, arthritis and podagra, as well as from paralysis and various tumors. Of course, the extent to which these springs actually provided cures for all of these ailments is not so easy to gauge.⁵ Still, they remained popular. Aelius Aristides, the Greek orator of the second century who was a frequent visitor to springs of the East during his lifetime, tells the story of his attempt to visit the waters at Cyzicus in late summer AD 166, only to bypass the site all together because of the large crowds (Aristid. *Or.* 51K 13). What seems clear is that a visit to such a place, whether for the weary traveler or for the beleaguered city dweller, would have been like visiting the baths, indeed a far more pleasant experience than having to endure many of the uncomfortable, and often dangerous, medical procedures of the day.⁶ Finally, it is important to recognize—and Aristides is a fine example of this—that healing waters could also pander to medical neuroses of all kinds while also allowing the ancients to indulge in “the care of the self” in a setting that was as pleasant as it was socially acceptable.⁷

Spas and their Features

According to the criteria established earlier, we can confirm seventeen spas in Latium and Etruria during the Roman period. Of this number, four sites

4 See catalogue below. Jackson (1999) 107–10; in a Roman bathing context, Fagan (1999) 85–103.

5 Guérin-Beauvois (2006).

6 Jackson (1999) 107.

7 Wallace-Hadrill (2008) 183.

in Etruria and one in Latium provide some insight into what these establishments may have looked like and how they may have operated in central Italy during the imperial period.

Aquae Tauri

Best preserved is the aforementioned Aquae Tauri, a major thermal center during the time of Trajan and Hadrian, but still in use in the fifth century. The complex, spread over some four acres, featured two main halls with pools, one of which appears to have supported a concrete barrel vault roof and contained benches set in the shallow pool that suggest immersions for relaxation or therapeutic purposes. Here the hot waters (47° C) arrived through lead pipes connecting the apse with the source. A second pool, larger than the first, was similarly arranged. White marble, traces of which remain on site, covered both immersion pools. Other features of the complex included rest and cure rooms, extensive heating and service facilities, a large peristyle, walkways and a cryptoporticus, a separate section for lodgings, and even a library.⁸

To be sure, as a resort that seemingly catered to its patrons' every need amid surroundings that were both spacious and well appointed, the Aquae Tauri remained a destination of great appeal. While the details of its founding and subsequent development remain hard to know, Yegul has characterized the complex as a "thermal city" comparable to the elaborate baths at Baiae, and lacking only in the spectacular view of the Bay of Naples provided by the latter.⁹

Aquae Caeretanae

The springs near Ceare provide further evidence of therapeutic bathing in a complex that were similarly well developed or decorated, although its remains are not as extensive as those of Aquae Tauri. At Aquae Caeretanae we find a well-preserved complex, which, much like Aquae Tauri, featured a shallow immersion pool with interior benches that would have allowed the visitor to rest and soak or to exercise in the waters if necessary.¹⁰ As Allen has noted, the high proportion of surface area taken up by the pool itself clearly emphasizes

8 Allen (2003) 409–10; Yegul (1992) 112–16.

9 Yegul (1992) 116.

10 Cosentino (1992) 17–22; Cosentino and Sabbatini Tumolesi (1989) 95–113.

the importance of the therapeutic function of the complex.¹¹ The sources do not reveal if this was a warm or cold-water spa, although Caelius Aurelianus noted in the fourth century that bathers sought the springs at Caere for relief from paralysis (*Chron.* 2.1.48).

Aquae Cutiliae

Another large pool, this one at Terme di Cotilia in Latium, similarly points to therapeutic bathing while providing strong support that this location was the site of Aquae Cutiliae, a favorite spa of the emperor Vespasian and his son Titus.¹² The pool (60m × 24m) was 1.80 m deep and received the thermal mineral waters by means of a complicated hydraulic system. Unlike Aquae Caeretanae, there was no evidence of benches inside the pool, although the pool itself was accessible by multiple staircases. Fragments of marble revetments and columns found during the excavation of the pool suggest a certain level of architectural refinement, a feature consistent with its reputation as a destination for emperors.

Aquae Apollinares Novae

Less well preserved but equally noteworthy is the thermal center of Aquae Apollinares Novae, now modern Vicarello, located north of Lake Bracciano. The site is best known for its votive offerings and a remarkable set of four silver goblets, which feature itineraries from Gades, Spain to Rome, along with the names of several spas. Formerly viewed as evidence of distant travellers to this spa, the goblets are now understood as belonging to property owners in southern Etruria, who were related to the emperor Domitian and the Roman agricultural writer Columella; how the cups ended up in Vicarello remains difficult to know.¹³ Here, however, the focus is on an apsidal room of the complex from which two elaborate marble floor tiles in *opus sectile* were reconstructed in the late 1990s. The tiles recall the flooring of Domitian's palace on the Palatine and can most likely be dated to his reign.¹⁴ It is not possible to confirm any sort of Domitianic connection with this site, but the evidence suggests a level of

11 Allen (2003) 407.

12 DePalma (1985); Reggiani (1979).

13 Cordiano (2003).

14 Von Falkenstein-Wirth (1997/98).

wealth and exclusivity that would have made this a desirable retreat, a reality that would seem to be confirmed by the surviving votive and travel materials. This kind of architectural embellishment is also consistent with the springs at Aquae Tauri, further suggesting that elaborate thermal springs were not an uncommon feature of life in imperial Etruria. At the same time, we must be careful not to read too much into evidence of this sort, given the small size of our sample and the limited remains at our disposal. In fact, it is equally clear that there was still much scope for diversity. This reality is best observed in the intriguing remains in Chianciano Terme.

Chianciano Terme

Chianciano Terme (modern Mezzomiglio) is the site of a cold-water spring excavated since 1995 by a team from the University of Arizona.¹⁵ Monumentalized from the first century BC, the spa reached its heyday in the time of Trajan before falling into disuse and disrepair in the third century. It remains the largest cold-water complex yet found in Italy. The facility consisted of a large immersion pool surrounded on all four sides by colonnaded walkways. The pool was fed by a subterranean spring, which emerged at the base of what is thought to be a *sacellum* or mini-temple, located on one side of the pool area. Close to the pool was a small building, possibly used to welcome and inform visitors. A large jar sunk just inside the doorway of this building raises the possibility that visitors had to pay a fee, make an offering, or obtain something before entering the facility. The site also included a poorly preserved bathing facility able to accommodate about twenty people and laid out in the usual scheme of a hot room (*caldarium*), warm room (*tepidarium*), and a cold room (*frigidarium*), along with two pools.

The location of this spa in the general area of ancient Chiusi has persuaded many scholars, including the Arizona team, that this is one of the famous rustic *fontes Clusinae*, praised by Horace for curing the emperor Augustus of the severe intestinal illness that allegedly imperiled his life in 23 BC (*Epist.* 1.15). While we cannot be entirely certain of this connection, features such as walls built of simple *opus incertum* and the absence of architectural embellishments like the tiles discovered at Aquae Apollinares Novae would seem to suggest that this facility was meant to remain simple and rustic, perhaps serving as the center of a cult of an ascetic nature; immersion in the cold waters surely would

15 Soren and Nell (2009).

have enhanced this apparent emphasis on the denial of luxury.¹⁶ If this overall interpretation is correct, then Chianciano Terme presents a version of a spa that is distinct from the evidence examined earlier. Here, religious and ascetic motives may have been paramount, although, if the story of Augustus' cure is to be believed, the site also enjoyed a reputation as a successful healing center.

All of the evidence considered here is surely not as complete as we would like. In fact, only two additional sites, *Aquae Passeris* and *Aquae Populoniae* (both in Etruria), provide any further archaeological remains;¹⁷ in both instances, however, the remains are too limited to be of much value. We would like to know, for example how the thermal springs operated at sites where there were also regular bathing facilities, such as at *fontes Clusinae*. At least one scholar has argued that visitors would have favored the regular baths over the thermal springs at such sites, given that doctors prescribed ordinary baths more frequently than they did a regimen in thermal or mineral waters.¹⁸ It is difficult to be certain about this however, and we should not discount the freedom that the visitor could exercise in choosing his own experience, depending upon individual needs and interests. Additionally, we have no evidence of who may have built, financed, or administered these spas. In the case of the emperor, it is surely possible that he was involved in the financing of spas, yet the evidence in central Italy is sparse. We do know that the emperor, local authorities, and private magnates were largely responsible for building and maintaining the empire's baths. By analogy, this may well have been the case with spas, although it is equally possible that some springs were simply left open with free access for the public.¹⁹

At any rate, the record, while limited, suggests a healthy diversity. Spas in central Italy could be large or small, elaborate or simple. There appears to have been no single model. On the other hand, like the standard layout of regular bathing facilities, spas too reflected a certain level of uniformity, a feature most apparent in the treatment of the immersion pool itself, whose depth, seating provisions, and centrality within the overall bathing complex were regularized to ensure an optimal therapeutic experience. The waters, after all, were the main attraction and it is clear from the surviving evidence that the *aquae* remained the central focus throughout the remarkably long lifetime enjoyed by many of these facilities.

16 Soren and Nell (2009) 62.

17 Allen (2003) 407 n. 28.

18 Houston (1992) 366.

19 Fagan (1999) 126–27, 175; Houston (1992) 364.

Waters and Worship

Based on their importance as a necessity for life and for purging impurities, flowing waters were of deep cultural value to the ancients. Moreover, because they were frequently unpredictable and because they constantly changed but seemed to stay the same, rivers and springs were a continuing source of mystery in antiquity.²⁰ Given these features, it is not surprising to find that flowing waters were typically associated with the divine. This was especially true of springs which had the power to bubble up miraculously from the bowels of the earth in order to provide comfort and healing.

In turning to the evidence from Latium and Etruria, we find some instances in which waters were named after specific divinities, most notably Neptune (Aquaе Neptuniae) and Apollo (Aquaе Apollinares and Apollinares Novae). This is consistent with the tradition whereby certain fountains and springs of extraordinary power or quality acquired their own myths and gods. Hephaestus, Heracles, and Artemis were often attached to warm healing fountains in the Greek world. Mantic springs such as Cassotis at Delphi were considered sacred because they conveyed the power of divination from the gods to the person who drank of it.²¹ The association of these divinities with healing waters thus continued on Italian soil. These tutelary divinities are also known through remains at the sites themselves, such as the marble busts of Asclepius and Apollo at Aquaе Apollinares Novae. Less secure is the identification of a two-thirds, life-sized horse leg in the vicinity of the *sacellum* at Chianciano Terme as belonging to a sculpture of Diana.²²

Elsewhere, a particular god or goddess might remain unidentified but votive offerings combined with certain architectural features suggest a connection with the divine. Such is the case at Aquaе Tauri, where a large number of votive objects and an altar of Hadrianic date discovered inside the apse and dedicated to nymphs raise the possibility that the apsed hall was a shrine for the tutelary deities of the springs.²³ Inscriptions also help to complete the picture. A dedication to Jove by a certain imperial freedman at Caere (*AE* 1989.305), for example, has provided us with the first epigraphic attestation of the likelihood of a *sacellum* at Aquaе Caeretanae. Finally, that the waters themselves were sometimes recognized as divine is also attested, as in the unusual instance

20 Campbell (2006).

21 Cole (1988).

22 Colini (1979); statue of Diana: Soren and Nell (2009) 62.

23 Yegul (1992) 114.

of a horseman who thanked the *Aquae Albulae* as a spring goddess (*lympha*) for curing a wound inflicted by a boar:

... But when the sinews had gone down and the scar
was slight and his horse began to run swiftly with him
on its back, for this reason in return for your services
he gives you, Spring-Goddess, himself in marble as a gift...²⁴

These cold, highly sulfurous springs were well known in antiquity and are still visited today by those seeking a range of hydrotherapeutic treatments.

Clientele and Travel

As mentioned at the outset, Namatianus' visit to *Aquae Tauri* in the fifth century indicates that elites were certainly among those who used spas in antiquity. Beyond literary accounts of this sort, inscriptions, comprised largely of dedications to these healing waters made by those who had benefitted from them, help to widen the scope by revealing that a broad cross section of ancient society enjoyed the spa experience. This evidence must be used with caution, of course, especially since it represents a narrow sample of ancient society and only those individuals who were inclined to make a dedication or who possessed the wealth to do so.

At *Aquae Albulae* we find a member of the *familia Caesaris*, in this instance a freedman of Augustus ([*C*]eladus Aug(usti) l(ibertus), making a dedication (*CIL* 14.3908). He is perhaps the same individual upon whom Augustus bestowed honors (Suet. *Aug.* 67). At the same site a certain *Ulpia Athenais*, the wife of a freedman of Augustus, is also attested (*CIL* 14.3909 = *ILS* 3892). The *gentilicium* *Ulpia* suggests she was a freedwoman of Trajan, although we cannot entirely overlook the possibility that she was freeborn. Military personnel too visited spas, perhaps to find relief from those ailments connected with fighting and training for a living. At *Aquae Caeretanae* we find a certain *Publius Scribonius Proculus*, a centurion of the sixth cohort of *vigiles*, who lived during the first half of the first century AD.²⁵ Beyond imperial freedman and soldiers, we also find a priest of *Magna Mater*, the Great Mother, at *Aquae Albulae* (*CIL* 14.3534). More intriguing is a tombstone from the vicinity of *Aquae Caeretanae* for *Diodotus*, a physician from *Cappadocia*. The monument was erected

²⁴ *CIL* 14.3911; Trans. Courtney (1995) 67 no. 38; see also McDonough (2011).

²⁵ Cosentino (1992) 21–22 = *AE* 1992.599; on *vigiles*, Le Bohec (1994) 22–23.

by Charinus, an *alumnus*, most likely a student of Diodotus (*AE* 1989.307). There is no way of placing Diodotus securely at the spa of Caere, of course, but the connection between a physician and a spa certainly finds support in a medical literature that consistently characterized hydrotherapy as an efficacious treatment. We might suppose that physicians formed part of the regular service staff at these establishments just as they did at the modern Warm Springs, Georgia, as we shall see below. Finally, four additional inscriptions survive, including a freedman who visited Aquae Pisanae (*CIL* 11.1418) and three individuals from Aquae Albulae who remain unidentified, including the Samis mentioned earlier, a wealthy second-century horse owner who was perhaps a Hellene or philhellene (*CIL* 14.3910–12).

The discussion of clientele raises related practical issues that deserve brief examination: what travel aids would have been available to ensure that the visitor reached his destination? And, among these resources, what do we know about the role of maps in particular? To begin, we must imagine that the clientele at most spas consisted of locals who resided nearby the thermal waters. This may help to explain in part the popularity of sites such as Aquae Albulae, which was only about 16 km from Rome. Travelers perhaps relied on road signs or word of mouth to guide them to the actual springs; there is also evidence to suggest that some spas built roads for improved access. At the same time, based on the recovery of dedications to the waters and gods of some Italian spas found elsewhere in the Empire, some visitors clearly traveled long distances.²⁶

Given these general conditions, we might suppose that maps played an important role in actually delivering the traveler to the spa. The issue, however, is not as simple as it might appear. Three of the sites in this study, the Aquae Cutiliae, Apollinares and Volaterranae, appear on the Antonine Itinerary, while seven sites appear on the Peutinger Map (Aquae Albulae, Cutiliae, Apollinares Novae, Passeris, Populoniae, Tauri and Volaterranae). It is the latter map that is of special interest, especially since it contains 54 obviously marked spas, with 22 in Italy alone. Allen has argued on the basis of these numbers that one of the main functions of this map was to provide information about the location of curative waters, and that the reason why some known spas are depicted while others are not is related to the popularity or decline of a particular site during the map's long copyist tradition. Furthermore, she argues that the map has preserved the tradition of viewing thermal springs as a source of health.²⁷ Talbert, however, has offered an alternative perspective by arguing that to see

26 Soren and Nell (2009) 53–54; Allen (2003) 411.

27 Allen (2003) 404, 413, 415.

the map as a travel guide is to reflect modern preoccupations, not ancient ones; rather, what we should really be concentrating on when we view the map is what the Romans would have seen: “a cartographic reassertion of the long-standing claim to domination of the known world made by Rome’s imperial rulers,” a claim that had “special resonance and importance during the Tetrarchy.”²⁸ This may also help to explain why those sites visited by the emperors remained on the map, that is, as a reminder that the emperor’s presence extended also to the *aquae* of the empire. To be sure, by setting the map in its proper Roman context, Talbert has helped to free us from having to explain several problems related to the display of symbols denoting thermal bathing establishments, namely: the lack of consistency in rendering these symbols; the extraordinary level of knowledge that the mapmaker would have needed to include them along with many other symbols; and the faithful reproduction of a sophisticated coding of symbols that would have been required by a long line of copyists. The details then were never as important as the larger motive, which ultimately was to produce a map designed to serve as a display piece, one that was “both celebratory and reassuring.”²⁹

The Emperor at the Spa

Finally, it will be useful to consider more closely the presence of the emperor himself at therapeutic waters. Not only did he seem to embrace with zeal the principles of hydrotherapy but, as we have seen, he also counted certain sites among his favorites. Claudius is known to have visited the baths at Sinuessa on the Bay of Naples to regain his health and strength (Tac. *Ann.* 12.66). Furthermore, Sinuessa had a reputation for curing insanity in men (Strabo 5.3.9) and infertility in women (Mart. 11.7). In Latium, Nero had hoped to have the sulfurous waters of *Aquae Albulae* pumped into his Golden House (Suet. *Nero* 31), while Augustus visited the same site, sitting on a wooden seat and alternately dipping his hands and feet into the waters *nervorum causa* (Suet. *Aug.* 82). Known for its intensely cold waters, the *Aquae Cutiliae*, also in Latium, was a favorite of Vespasian, who was a native of the area. Suetonius records that Vespasian spent every summer in Cutilia and died there in AD 79 from a sudden attack of diarrhea after frequenting the cold waters (Suet. *Vesp.* 24).

28 Talbert (2010) 157.

29 Talbert (2010) 122, 157.

This strong imperial attachment to hydrotherapy raises some interesting questions. What was it like for the emperor to visit one of these springs? What can we know about his interaction with the other patrons during such visits? Did his preference for a particular site help to enhance its reputation? While the limited state of the evidence makes it difficult to obtain direct answers, the questions are worthwhile, especially since imperial travel was important for underscoring the relationship between Rome and the periphery of the Empire. A visit by the emperor would have offered provincials, in this case municipal Italians, the possibility of interacting with him and perhaps even to benefit from his largess, a rare opportunity indeed since only a small fraction of the empire's residents ever saw the emperor in person.³⁰

In the absence of detailed ancient testimony, a sample of modern comparative evidence helps us to imagine the range of possibilities for social interaction between elites and commoners that might have existed at spas in Roman Italy. In colonial America, we find a marked emphasis on social mixing. Taking waters at mineral springs began in the 1660s, and by the eighteenth century certain rural baths/spas had become popular tourist destinations. Chief among these were the warm springs of Berkeley County, Virginia, where George Washington sampled the waters at least twice, while John Adams was a patron of the waters at nearby Stafford Springs, Virginia. By 1770 Berkeley Warm Springs had become a "great resort where the planting aristocracy, Jefferson's sturdy yeomanry, and coonskin democrats of the backwoods mingled."³¹ We find much the same emphasis on social leveling nearly a century and a half later in Franklin Delano Roosevelt's well-known association with the therapeutic waters of Warm Springs, Georgia. Roosevelt first visited Warm Springs in 1924, three years after he was diagnosed with polio at the age of 39. Eventually, FDR was to purchase the property and create the Warm Springs Foundation, which was developed as a rehabilitative spa. Here again we find an emphasis on a high degree of social interaction, as "stories of low farm prices, failed banks, and rural poverty that emerged from the president's conversations with the spa visitors stayed with him into the White House."³²

Elsewhere, however, social asymmetry seems to have been the norm at the spa, especially in Europe from the seventeenth century onwards³³ but particularly during the nineteenth century, when the popularity of hydrotherapy reached its peak. One such destination was Bath, England, which counted Lord

30 Noreña (2010) 539–540.

31 Weiss (2004) 294.

32 Smith (2007) 218.

33 Herbert (2009); Mansén (1998).

Nelson among its clientele as well as a host of other military officers, aristocrats, and retired colonial administrators. Bath was appealing not to a broad cross section of British society, but to a select elite who had benefitted from the Empire as the source of their status and power. Architecture played an important role here too, as refined buildings like the Circus helped to solidify Bath as a “social rendezvous of the elite.”³⁴ In Germany, Baden Baden fulfilled much the same role, as its plush surroundings, which included fine lodgings and a casino, played host to Queen Victoria, Wilhelm I, and Napoleon III. It is from Pyrmont, another one of the leading spas in Germany, however, that we obtain the most reliable insight into social relations in a spa setting. Here the extensive records of visitors and building improvements help us to recreate an atmosphere where nobility, burghers and peasants all “gathered to drink from the common fountain.”³⁵ Even so, we can take this semblance of equality only so far; other records clearly indicate that it was the aristocrats alone who were allowed to dance in the ballroom as the bourgeoisie could only watch. Similarly, strolling along the main promenade (*Hauptallee*), a favorite pastime at the resort, also played out along class lines, as the brightly colored clothing of the lower classes reinforced social distinctions in a highly visual context.³⁶

The rural, homespun culture of spas in colonial America contrasts sharply with the class-conscious arrangements of similar establishments in Western Europe. Where on this continuum we might wish to locate the Roman practice is difficult to determine. On the one hand, some of this modern evidence recalls the tradition of the Roman people petitioning the emperor at public venues like the Colosseum,³⁷ a scenario that would have us believe that the people's access to ruling elites was unexceptionable. This may be so, but we must also remember that, at least in the Colosseum, seating was always arranged by social class, and it is this discrepancy between apparent equality and the reality of social separation that is perhaps our best guide for imagining imperial interaction among spa goers in Roman Italy. Much like the Germans in Pyrmont, what remained important to Romans elites was the “delicate culture of appearances—the arrangement of showing equality without recognizing it and of showing attention to the crowd without ever fully embracing it.”³⁸ In this way the balancing act between social asymmetry and the appearance of equality could be maintained while preserving the hierarchy of the social order.

34 Borsay (2006) 883.

35 Lempa (2002) 53.

36 Lempa (2002) 54.

37 Millar (1992) 368–375.

38 Lempa (2002) 55.

At the same time, while it may be difficult to imagine the emperor rubbing elbows with his subjects in the manner of Roosevelt at Warm Springs, we should not entirely dismiss the possibility that he recognized in the spa experience an additional opportunity to interact with his subjects within acceptable social parameters. Furthermore, it is clear that modern spas were attractive to elites, who, by their very presence year after year, greatly enhanced the reputation of these establishments. It is not unrealistic to suppose that the same held true in ancient Italy, where, as we have seen, there was a strong tradition of connecting emperors with certain springs, such as *Aquae Cutiliae* and *Chianciano Terme*. Imperial favor would have represented a most welcome form of advertising and surely would have enhanced the reputation of these centers as destinations worth visiting, whether for medicinal or recreational purposes.

Conclusion

The Romans considered spas to be an essential component of their health regimen. Ancient physicians consistently endorsed the salubrious effects of immersion in either naturally occurring hot or cold waters, and this practice won wide acceptance across the Roman world. Furthermore, hydrotherapy also reflected a strong religious dimension. Healing waters, mysteriously bubbling up from the earth of their own accord, were considered other worldly, and thus easily connected with the divine. The seventeen spas of Latium and Etruria that can be securely attested reveal a range of venues and a diverse clientele. The appearance of several of these sites on the *Peutinger Map* suggests that these spas remained important in Roman thought and culture, although we must be careful to view their cartographic depiction as an expression of Roman power and grandeur rather than as simply a travel guide designed to bring the bather to his destination. Finally, several of these retreats were favorites of Roman emperors, who not only embraced the spa with enthusiasm but may have also recognized it as an additional opportunity to interact with their subjects in public while maintaining the asymmetry that remained an essential component of social relations in the ancient world.³⁹

39 Readers of this volume will recognize in the choice of this topic the influence of Richard Talbert, whose remarkable contributions to the study of Roman history, mapping, and geography continue to animate my own scholarly interests.

Appendix: Catalogue of Spas Recorded as *Aquae* or *Fontes*

Latium:

1. **Aquae Albulae:** *RE* 11.295.10; *Tab. Peut.* 4.5; *Barr.* 43C2. These cold sulfurous springs, which flowed into the Anio River between Rome and Tivoli some 16 miles northeast of Rome, were well known in antiquity (*Martial* 1.12; *Strabo* 5.3.11; *Pausanias* 4.35.10; *Vitruvius* 8.3.2). The Alban waters were thought to heal wounds (*Plin. HN* 31.6, *Galen, de simp. med* [Kuhn x1.393] and also to alleviate rheumatism (*Suet. Aug.* 82.2). *Caelius Aurelianus* listed several additional ailments for which bathers sought treatment: paralysis (*Chron.* 2.1.48); asthma (3.1.10); arthritis and podagra (5.2.40); and bladder diseases (5.4.77). *Isidore (Etym.* 13.13) confirmed the existence of these healing waters in the seventh century. Inscriptions record dedications made to the spring by a wide range of visitors.

2. **Aquae Cutiliae:** *RE* 11.299.38; *It. Ant.* 307.1; *Tab. Peut.* 4.4; *Barr.* 42E4; *CIL* 9.4663–71; *Suet. Vesp.* 24; *Strabo* 5.3.1; *Reggiani* (1979); *DePalma* (1985); *Allen* (2003) 408. A Sabine town between Reate and Interocrium, Cutilia was located in an earthquake zone (*Plin. HN* 2.96, 3.17, *Sen. QNat.* 3.25.8), which produced waters rich in a variety of minerals (*Plin. HN* 31.32, *Vitruvius* 8.3.5). *Pliny (HN* 31.6) praised their efficacy in treating all kinds of ailments, “Those waters of Cutilia, again, in the Sabine territory, are intensely cold, and by a kind of suction penetrate the body to such a degree as to have the effect of a mordent almost. They are remarkably effective for afflictions of the stomach, sinews, and all parts of the body, in fact.” *Caelius Aurelianus* listed several additional afflictions for which relief was sought, including asthma (*Chron.* 3.1.10); morbid hunger (3.2.45); arthritis and podagra (5.2.40); and bladder disease (5.4.77). *Celsus* cited these waters as useful in treating stomach disorders (4.12.7).

3. **Aquae Ferentinae:** *RE* 11.301.51. *Barr.* 44D2. A spring presumably located near the grove of Ferentina. *Livy* (1.51.9) records that the early king *Tarquinius Superbus* had the Arician *Turnus* drowned at the source of the Ferentine waters (*ad caput aquae Ferentinae*).

4. **Aquae Labanae (Bagni di Grotta Marozza):** *RE* 11.301.51; *Barr.* 44C1. Located between Eretum and Nomentum, these cold waters were used for drinking and for bathing to cure various diseases, according to *Strabo* (5.3.11).

5. **Aquae Neptuniae:** *RE* 11. 302.58. This spring is recorded only by *Livy* (39.44.6), who mentions a dike built there to provide a footpath for travelers. The location is unknown but the *aquae* are included among improvements made at Rome by the censor *Flaccus* in 184 BC. *Vitruvius* (8.3.2) mentions a *fons Neptunius* known for its poisonous waters, but he locates it in Tarracina.

Etruria:

6. Aquae Apollinares (Bagni di Stigliano): *It. Ant.* 300.3; *Barr.* 42C4; Hodges (1995). Located near Forum Clodii, these waters are not attested in any other ancient sources.

7. Aquae Apollinares Novae (Vicarello): *Tab. Peut.* 4.3; *Barr.* 42C4; *CIL* 11.3281–84; Heurgon (1952); Colini (1968, 1979); Künzl and Künzl (1992); Hodges (1995); Allen (2003) 408; Cordiano (2003). Located north of Lake Bracciano, this thermal-mineral bath complex is best known for its votive offerings, especially four remarkable silver goblets inscribed with a road itinerary from Gades to Rome. Other significant remains include marble busts of Asclepius and Apollo and opus sectile flooring, evidence suggesting a complex of high quality.⁴⁰

8. Aquae Caeretanæ (Bagni del Sasso) *RE* 11.297.22; *Barr.* 44 B1; *AE* (1989) 305–06; Strabo 5.2.3; Livy 22.1.10; Cael. Aurel., *Chron.* 2.1.48 (treatment for paralysis); Cosentino (1992); Allen (2003) 407.

9. Aquae Nepesinae: *RE* 11.302.57; *Barr.* 42C4; Potter (1979), 118–19. Ancient Nepes was located on the Via Amerina, where the sulphur springs were likely the center of a large thermal establishment, the so-called Baths of Gracchi. Caelius Aurelianus prescribed the waters of this bituminous mineral spring for drinking and bathing as a cure for stomach and bladder ailments (*Chron.* 5.4.77), asthma (3.1.10), and morbid hunger (3.2.45).

10. Aquae Passeris (Bagni Giasinelli): *Tab. Peut.* 4.1; *Barr.* 42C4; *CIL* 11.3003 (Aquae Passerianae); near Volsinii. Martial (6.42.6) speaks of its hot waters.

11. Aquae Pisanae: *RE* 11. 304.71; *Barr.* 41C2. Located northeast of Pisa, these warm springs attracted frogs, according to Pliny (*HN* 2.227).

12. Aquae Populoniae (Bagni della Leccia): *RE* 11.304.73; *Tab. Peut.* 3.2; *Barr.* 42A2–41C4; Located between Siena and Populonium, it is perhaps connected with the Baths of Leccia near Massa Maritima. It is known only from the Peutinger Map.

13. Aquae Senanae: *Barr.* 42A2. These springs, near Siena, are known only from Caelius Aurelianus, who noted that they were exploited for relief from paralysis (*Chron.* 2.1.48).

14. Aquae Tauri (Bagni di Traiano): *RE* 11. 307.94; *Tab. Peut.* 4.3; *Barr.* 42B4; Plin. *HN* 3.8; Yegul (1992) 112–16; Allen (2003) 409. Located near Centum Cellae, the springs were thought to have been discovered by a bull. They are best known from the *De Reditu Suo*, an account of a journey from Rome to his native Gaul by Rutilius Namatianus, a wealthy aristocrat and prefect of the city in the fifth century. The site featured baths built in the first century BC and renovated through the second century. Two main halls for the pools, both covered in white marble, were used for the hot spring water.

15. Aqua Viva: *RE* 11.307.98; *Barr.* 42C4; Potter (1979) 117–18. A spring located on the via Flaminia south of Otricoli.

40 Colini (1979); Von Falkenstein-Wirth (1997/98).

16. **Aquae Volaterranae:** *RE* 11.307.100; *It. Ant.* 2.513; *Tab. Peut.* 3.2; *Barr.* 41D3. Possibly identified with Monte Cerboli, south of Volaterrae.

17. **Fontes Clusinae (Chianciano Terme):** *RE* 4.1.114; *Barr.* 42B2; Strabo 5.2.9 (226); Hor. *Epist.* 1.15.1–11; Suet. *Aug.* 59, 81; Soren and Nell (2009). As the largest cold-water complex yet to be discovered in Italy, this spa peaked in popularity in the time of Trajan. It is perhaps to be identified with one of the famous *fontes Clusinae* of the Roman poet Horace, who praised the waters for curing the emperor Augustus of an intestinal ailment in 23 BC (*Epist.* 1.15). The archaeological remains suggest a rustic resort of an ascetic nature.

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The Shaping Hand of the Environment: Three Phases of Development in Classical Antiquity

Michael Maas

While ambassador to France in 1785, Thomas Jefferson wrote a letter about the United States to his friend François-Jean de Chastellux, an aristocratic member of the French Academy who had commanded French forces in the American War of Independence. Jefferson sought to explain the differences between the northern and southern states. After commenting on “the warmth of climate which unnerves and unmans both body and mind,” he proceeded to

give you my idea of the characters of the several states. In the North they are cool, sober, laborious, persevering, independent, jealous of their own liberties and just to those of others, interested, chicaning, superstitious and hypocritical in their religion. In the South they are fiery, voluptuary, indolent, unsteady, independent, zealous for their own liberties but trampling on those of others, generous, candid, without attachment or pretensions to any religion but that of the heart. These characteristics grow weaker and weaker by gradation from North to South and South to North, insomuch that an observing traveler, without the aid of the quadrant may always know his latitude by the character of the people among whom he finds himself. It is in Pennsylvania that the two characters seem to meet and blend, and form a people free from the extremes both of vice and virtue.¹

Near the middle of the following century, in a now forgotten novel titled *Wooring and Warring in the Wilderness. A Story of Canetuckey*, Charles D. Kirk wrote the following about American pioneers:

How different the purpose of these half hundred souls who now struggled through morasses, up acclivities, across swollen streams, beside beetling crags, on the verge of dizzy precipices! Their destiny is one of peace—to

¹ Jefferson (1984) 827. I am most grateful to Dr. Randal Hall for providing this and the following reference.

conquer nature with the arms and arts of husbandry—to soften the wild features of the wide West—to plant flowers and reap harvests, and create home and happiness. No bugle blast heralded their approach—no measured tread gave notice of their march. There were no banners waving—no swords gleaming—none of the pomp and circumstance of glorious war. It was the tramp, tramp, steady and slow, but sure, of the advancing hosts of Civilization and Christianity.²

These passages written in the first two centuries of the American Republic represent a body of thought about the interconnections of climate, God, the wilderness, and regional cultural differences in the formation of American civilization. Though ideally suited to the New World and the creation of an American national mythology still flourishing today, these ideas in fact possess a far older pedigree, extending to classical antiquity.³

This sketch introduces three broad, somewhat overlapping, historical phases in the development of classical thought about the environment and its interaction with human society that are the direct though distant antecedents of Jefferson's letter and *Wooing and Warring in the Wilderness*. Through examination of only a few examples we will see how people in Greek and Roman antiquity understood how geography and the natural world shape identity and society. The first phase embraces the classical Greek and Hellenistic foundations of environmental theory, beginning in the fifth century BC, when, for the first time in the West, writers systematically linked the environment to society in a broad array of texts. The second phase was marked by the encounter of environmental theory with the Roman Empire. During this period, which began in the first century BC and reached its apogee in the Augustan age, writers connected ideas about society and the environment to the Roman imperial mission. In the third phase Roman imperial environmental theory encountered Christian views of causation and the cosmos. A long discussion began in the second century AD but flourished especially in Late Antiquity.

The Late Antique phase receives most emphasis in this paper, particularly the sixth and early seventh century AD, which witnessed the transformation of the classical intellectual heritage into what we may call a medieval world-view. At this time ideas about the controlling hand of the environment on human character and community came under the influence of Christian beliefs.

² Kirk (1860) 38.

³ Glacken (1967) offers the best treatment of this tradition from antiquity through the eighteenth century and has been invaluable in the preparation of this chapter.

Greek Foundations of Environmental Theory

In the fifth century BC, a body of material developed in Greece that considered the natural environment in cultural and political terms. This was part of a process of Greek self-definition that intensified in the course of the Persian War. During this period, some people began to explain the dichotomy of Greek and barbarian (including the Persians) as a product of the natural environment.⁴ They argued that geographical conditions determine the physical characteristics and even the morality of a people. A treatise called *Airs, Waters, Places*, once attributed to Hippocrates the “Father of Medicine,” (but now attributed to Ps.-Hippocrates) discussed the nuances of climatic variation and their influence on human communities, human character, and of course human health. For example, the author writes,

Asia differs very much from Europe in the nature of everything that grows there, vegetable or human. Everything grows much bigger and finer in Asia, and the nature of the land is tamer, while the character of the inhabitants is milder and less passionate. The reason for this is the equable blending of the climate, for it lies in the midst of the sunrise facing the dawn. It is thus removed from extremes of heat and cold. (Hippoc. *Aer.* 12, trans. Chadwick and Mann 159).

We also learn that

There exist in Europe, then, people differing among themselves in size, appearance and courage, and the factors controlling those differences are those I have described. Let me summarize this plainly. When a race lives in a rough mountainous country, at a high elevation, and well watered, where great differences of climate accompany the various seasons, there the people will be of large physique, well-accustomed to hardihood and bravery, and with no small degree of fierceness and wildness in their character. (Hippoc. *Aer.* 24, trans. Chadwick and Mann 167–68).

Air, Waters, Places indicates as well that human customs (*nomoi*) can develop in response both to environmental conditions and to contact with other peoples and that they also play a role in determining the physical characteristics of a people. For example, over a long period the legendary Macrocephali, or Long-Headed People, had the habit of artificially stretching the skulls of their

4 Heiberg (1920); Pinna (1988); Jouanna (2003) 7–82; Jouanna (1981); Backhaus (1976).

infants. Eventually nature began to cooperate with usage and the physical characteristic became an inborn trait (Hippoc. *Aer.* 14). Such explanations became widespread—perhaps they already were widespread before they were written down—and enjoyed wide discussion in scientific circles throughout the Hellenistic age, which in terms of the scientific traditions lasted throughout the Roman period.⁵ Thus *Air, Waters, Places* set the terms for more than a millennium of discussion of the interrelation of the environment and society.

A few examples can illustrate the variety of uses to which environmental theory was put: Aristotle believed that Greece possessed the golden mean of climate and accordingly enjoyed the golden mean of culture (Arist. *Pol.* 4.7.1327b).⁶ His enormous authority ensured the enduring influence of the idea that temperate climates are home to the most civilized nations. Polybius, the Greek historian best remembered for his analysis of Rome's rapid rise to international power in the mid-second century BC, offered the first recorded discussion (4.20) of the idea that environment causes *ethnic* characteristics.⁷ He says, for example, that the Arcadians in the Greek Peloponnese civilized themselves by developing certain political institutions and integrating music into all aspects of their lives. They overcame the rough environmental factors that kept their neighbors in a state of barbarism. He writes,

To our climate all of us became adapted by necessity. For it is not from any other cause but from this that we differ from one another in our ethnic attributes and all our peculiarities—in character and form and complexion, and still more in most of our customs. But [the Arcadians], wishing to smooth and soften the stubbornness and hardness of nature, introduced all the above mentioned things . . . (Polyb. 4.21.2)⁸

Environmental Determinism and the Roman Empire

Polybius also provides a convenient segue to the second phase of the classical tradition of environmental theory, a period when many Greek ideas about science and geography entered the Roman sphere. From before Polybius' time to the middle of the first century AD, Roman legions created a world empire

⁵ Glacken (1967) 35–150.

⁶ See Aristotle, *Problemata* 14 for discussion of environmental effects on human characteristics; Glacken (1967) 93–94; Richter (2011) 47–54.

⁷ Glacken (1967) 96.

⁸ Lovejoy and Boas (1935) 347 with a change.

that stretched from the north of England to the south of Egypt, encountering along the way many different societies inhabiting many different landscapes. The Roman conquerors confronted the problem of explaining human cultural diversity in relation to geographical variation over their vast realm. Greek ideas of the shaping hand of environment upon human communities and the superiority of civilization in temperate climes found broad acceptance in the Roman worldview, but now with a difference. Roman writers linked these views to the practice of their empire itself.

Particularly during the Augustan age (conventionally starting in 31 BC) there emerged a new ideology of autocratic world rule based on the authority of the emperor. Writers dreamed of empire without limit and wondered about the transformative power of Roman imperial civilization. Could Roman rule trump the prescriptive grasp of nature in the formation of humans and their communities? Two examples show the Roman imperial spin on environmental theory.

First, we consider the architect Vitruvius, who linked the civilizing goals of the Augustan regime to the spread of cities. He brought the concept of environmental determinism into his own professional realm by examining the influence of climate upon architectural forms in the sixth book of his influential treatise *On Architecture*. In this treatise, the different physical characteristics of the peoples of the earth reflect natural conditions. Due to abundant moisture in their homelands, for example, northerners are tall, fair, red-headed, blue-eyed, and barbarous (Vitr. *De arch.* 6.1.1, 6.1.10–11). Romans, on the other hand, control the portions of the earth with the best climate. He writes: “By its policy [Rome] curbs the courage of the northern barbarian; by its strength, the imaginative south. Thus the Divine Mind has allotted to the Roman state an excellent and temperate region in order to rule the world” (Vitr. *De arch.* 6.1.11). Rome has claimed the center of world affairs, and so the peoples farthest from Rome suffer the most in their terrible environments and are the least civilized.

The Greek geographer Strabo, whose *Geography* straddled the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, composed the most thoroughgoing treatment of climate and civilization. His treatise represents the pinnacle of Hellenistic geographic science as practiced from a Roman imperial perspective. Strabo’s work illustrates how ideologies in the scientific as well as the administrative areas brought Rome into the center of the conceptual universe. For Strabo, remoteness from Rome joined climate and terrain in shaping the character of peoples.⁹ These factors informed his understanding of Rome’s imperial mission. As he explained in his *Geography* Romans had the unique responsibility of

9 Maas (2007); Glacken (1967) 103–105.

bringing unfortunate, distant barbarian peoples into the civilized space of the empire. Time and again he shows that the force of civilization can override the imperatives of environment and that cultural change can be brought about by Rome's agency (e.g., Strabo 2.5.26, 3.3.8, 4.1.12).¹⁰ Strabo believed that distance from Rome and harsh environment could be overcome by the spread of Roman civilization. Without Rome, wretched people dwelling in terrible environments would remain crude and barbaric.

The works of Vitruvius and Strabo indicate that in the Augustan age a repertoire of potent ideas came into play about the connection of the physical landscape to imperial civilization. They put forward the theory that Rome, based in the most temperate portion of the earth, was especially suited to rule and to bring the other peoples of the world into the civilized realm.

Christianity and Roman Environmental Theory

Now that we have noted that writers in the Roman Empire adapted Greek ideas about the environment to their own objectives, we can turn to the third major phase in the development of Greco-Roman environmental theory: the involvement of these imperial attitudes with Christianity and the entry of a religious vector to the environmental equation. A close association of the Roman Empire and Christianity began with Emperor Constantine's conversion in 312. Undeniably, with the new religion came strong challenges to environmental determinism, and indeed to any suggestion that their God was not the ultimate determiner of everything in the human and natural realm. Consequently many Christian theorists rejected the environment—as well as astrology, fate independent of divinity, and any other forces with non-divine agency. The Church Fathers' arguments anchored a long-running debate in which many opinions found expression.¹¹

These churchmen did not convince everyone to reject old beliefs, however, perhaps because the ideas to which they objected had become too deeply engrained in everyday thought. We find that in Late Antiquity many Christians remained ready to link environment and empire, though with a few adjustments.

To see these developments, we will consider a few examples taken from the sixth and early seventh centuries. Some thinkers rejected environmental determinism, while others in different contexts accepted and modified it and

10 Maas (2007) 73–75.

11 Riedinger (1956); Hegedus (2007); and McCluskey (1998) for discussion.

so helped pass it on to us. The first examples come from Constantinople, where a Roman imperial Christianity crystallized in the sixth century, forming the strong foundation of medieval Byzantine civilization. The second examples come from the same period, when Christian writers in the new kingdoms that had replaced Rome in Western Europe employed environmentalism to their own ends.

The writings of Procopius of Caesarea are the most important source for the events and attitudes of the reign of emperor Justinian. Procopius composed his long historical account of Justinian's wars of reconquest in the western Mediterranean and his struggles with Sasanian Persia in what was a rather old-fashioned Thucydidean literary style that affected distance from Christianity. In stark contrast, however, in his treatise *On Buildings*, which celebrates the emperor's ambitious construction program in Constantinople and the provinces, Procopius speaks quite forthrightly in Christian terms. It is in this work that environmental theory, Roman imperialism, and Christianity find a clear synthesis.

One example must suffice to illustrate Procopius' perspective. *On Buildings* includes the story of Justinian's efforts to win control of the fierce mountain peoples of the Caucasus range, a region of prime strategic importance in the greater struggle with Sasanian Persia. One of these mountain tribes, the Tzani, dwelt in proud independence in their rugged and inaccessible homeland. Procopius describes them in this fashion:

Tzanica was a very inaccessible country . . . As a result of this it was impossible for the Tzani to mingle with their neighbors, living as they did a life of solitude among themselves in the manner of wild beasts. Accordingly [Justinian] cut down all the trees by which the routes chanced to be obstructed, and transforming the rough places and making them smooth and passable for horses, he brought about that they mingled with other peoples in the manner of men in general and consented to have dealings with their neighbors. After this he built a church for them . . . and caused them to conduct services and to partake of the sacraments and propitiate God with prayers and perform other acts of worship, so that they should know they were human beings . . . (Procop. *Aed.* 11.6.1–14).¹²

Regarding environmental determinism, this passage illustrates a causal relationship between terrain and the character of a community—in this case the harsh remoteness that bred barbarism among the Tzani. It also indicates that

¹² Maas (2003) 163–69 and (2007) 80.

the bonds of natural determinism might be broken through imperial intervention; Augustan era writers would have accepted this explanation. Now, in Procopius' hand, however, Christianity defines the parameters of this civilization. Like his emperor and his associates in Constantinople, the historian believed that bringing civilization constituted an imperial responsibility that required conversion to the orthodox faith. A Christian emperor could trump the environment through religious intervention. Such ideas were to have a long history in the Byzantine imperial realm and pass from there to Russia and the Slavic world.

Roughly contemporary with Procopius, a monk known to us only as Ps.-Caesarius, wrote a treatise called *Dialogues* about 560, probably from the vantage point of a monastery in Constantinople, that of the "Sleepless Monks."¹³ No evidence suggests that he and Procopius had any direct connection to one another, but they both responded to older traditions of environmental determinism obviously still vibrant in sixth century Constantinople. The two writers held opposite opinions.

Ps.-Caesarius' *Dialogues*, which consists of 220 questions and answers on various topics, reveal that he had been well educated in the writings of the Greek Church Fathers and clearly had access to a good theological library, presumably in his monastery.¹⁴ A great part of his work deals with religious questions such as heresy and the nature of the Trinity. He wrote against Arian Christians and Origenists as well as against Jews.¹⁵ His religious positions were those of a Monophysite (or Miaphysite) Christian, at odds with the official Chalcedonian Orthodox Christianity advocated by Justinian and presumably Procopius.¹⁶ The emperor worked toward a doctrinal reconciliation that he never achieved, resulting in much ecclesiastical intrigue in Constantinople and throughout the Empire. It is for historical, not religious, information that Ps.-Caesarius contributes to the present discussion, however. Scholars value the *Dialogues* because they provide valuable information about the earliest communities of Slavs in the Balkans. Ps.-Caesarius' observations on the environment that made the Slavs so fierce deserve further attention. He takes an approach completely opposite to that of Procopius, denying environmental determinism flat out:

13 Riedinger (1969) 301–329; for the monastery, Riedinger (1990) 151–52.

14 Riedinger (1969) 283–300.

15 Baldwin and Talbot (1991).

16 *Contra* Kaldellis (2004) 165–221.

Question: and since seven stars figure into the birth of each one of us, we say that the earth is divided into seven regions and, as you will, (each) region is ruled by one of these stars, and according to their combination the subjects live and die; this very influence of the stars is called the law.

Answer: If the world is divided into seven regions, how is that in one region we find many and diverse laws? For not only seven laws exist, according to the number of the stars, nor yet twelve, according to the signs of the Zodiac, not even thirty-six after the decani, but innumerable laws are recounted, those long ago forsaken, and those now in effect. How is it that in the same region we see living [nearby] the Indianthropophagi (Indian Cannibals) and the Brachmani (Brahmans) who abstain from all living and enjoyment?... and how in a different region we find the Sclaveni (Slavs) and the ... Physonites also called the Danubians¹⁷ ... The first mentioned are savage, living by their own law and without the rule of anyone, [but] ... the latter ... obey their leader (*Dialogues* 2.109).

Ps.-Caesarius does not use the word *klima*, but he is referring to the theory of the *klimata*, the seven zones of the earth that are governed by a zodiacal sign that causes customs or laws to be the same.¹⁸ According to this line of thought, therefore, the Slavs should not have differed in significant ways from their Danubian neighbors people around them. Ps.-Caesarius, however, emphasizes the differences between Slavs and their neighbors, and he points out as well that not just in the Balkans but elsewhere in the world many different peoples with different habits, laws, and customs live in the same region.¹⁹ In attacking the determinism of the seven *klimata* he draws on arguments put forward several centuries earlier by various ecclesiastical writers who noted that although Christians live throughout the world in many *klimata*, their own laws and customs remain the same no matter where they are.²⁰ For Ps.-Caesarius, the environment (as determined by the *klimata*) does not determine the characteristics of a people; that is for God to do. In this regard it is worth noting that another Monophysite writer from Constantinople in the same period, John of Ephesus, would explain the Slavs' barbarism and their depredations in the

17 The author equates the Danube with the otherwise unidentifiable river Pishon mentioned in Genesis 2.11.

18 Heiberg (1920); Honigsmann (1929); Hegedus (2007).

19 Curta (2001) 44; Duichev (1953); trans. Bačić (1983) 152.

20 See the Syriac theologian Bardaisan's *Book of the Laws of Countries*: Bardaisan (2007) and Drijvers (1966) 19.

Balkans not in terms of climate theory or geography but as divine punishment for the persecution of Monophysites by Justinian's successor on the throne.²¹

A final example from Byzantium comes from *The Easter Chronicle*, or *Chronicon Paschale*, written by an anonymous author during the reign of Heraclius, about 627. The author relates the history of the world from the Creation to his own day. A most noteworthy feature of this Christian historical work is the description of the seven *klimata* and the cities that lie within them. This indicates that for this writer *klimata* have lost their deterministic power as well as their controversial nature. They are present only as geographical descriptors and not seen to be a challenge to divine determination of the characteristics of human communities. The *Chronicon Paschale*, however, does not mark the end of the story. As the Byzantinist Alexander Kazhdan explained, the struggle between environmental theory and Christian teaching would persist in Byzantium well into the fourteenth century.²²

This paper ends with a look at the Latin West from where environmental theory would flow eventually into the modern tradition. A first example comes from the writings of Cassiodorus a Roman statesman with broad intellectual interests who first served Theodoric, the Ostrogothic king who ruled Italy from 493 to 526, and then subsequent rulers during the early years of Justinian's invasion of Italy in the 530s. Sometime before 540 Cassiodorus went to Constantinople, where he stayed for twenty years involved in study and religious discussion with people close to the imperial court. After returning to Italy, he founded Vivarium, a monastery devoted to the preservation of secular as well as religious texts. In a letter to friends written about 520 while in Ostrogothic service, he praised the beauty of his hometown Scyllacium (Squillace) in Calabria, where he would one day found his monastery.²³ He commented that

... a hot fatherland makes its children sharp and fickle, a cold one slow and sly; it is only a temperate climate which composes the characters of men by its own moderation. Hence it was that the ancients pronounced Athens to be the seat of sages. The vigour of the mind is repressed when it is clogged by a heavy atmosphere. Nature herself hath made us subject to these influences. Clouds make us feel sad; and again a bright

21 Curta (2001) 48; Harvey (2011) 445.

22 Kazhdan (1991); for a survey of the continuity of the theory of *klimata* in the Muslim world, see Miquel (2012).

23 Hodgkin (1886) 504; Glacken (1967) 257–8.

sky fills us with joy, because the heavenly substance of the soul delights in everything that is unstained and pure (Cassiod. *Var.* 12.15).²⁴

Cassiodorus found in climate theory not only a source of praise for his home town, but a rationale for starting a community of scholars and copyists in the same place—though hardly a justification for an ascetic life style in a harsh and inaccessible place. Cassiodorus takes it for granted that climate affects intellect and emotion.

The most important transmitter of classical ideas about environmental determinism (to the Middle Ages and so to us) that we should take a brief look at, was not Cassiodorus in Italy, or a Greek historian in Constantinople, but a Spanish bishop, Isidore of Seville, who was born as the Justinianic period came to a close.²⁵ During his infancy, his father had moved the family to Seville to avoid Justinian's armies that had invaded Cartagena in 560.²⁶ Educated in the Church, Isidore enjoyed an important ecclesiastical career as bishop of Seville, with influence at the Visigothic court as well. Isidore is most important to us, however, for his intellectual life and his many writings. Well educated for his time he knew some Greek and a few words of Hebrew in addition to Latin writers of the classical age and Patristic sources. Isidore produced a rich body of work himself.²⁷ His best-known and most influential treatise is the *Etymologies*, which like so many medieval treatises, may be viewed as a "compilation from compilations."²⁸ This work proved to be enormously popular and influential in the Middle Ages and beyond; over hundred manuscripts survive. Its ninth book deals with, among other things, the languages and peoples of the world, what their names mean, and other characteristic elements of their identity. Along the way he makes general statements involving environmental determinism:

Peoples' faces and coloring, the size of their bodies, and their various temperaments correspond to various climates. Hence we find that the Romans are serious, the Greeks easy-going, the Africans changeable, and

24 Trans. Hodgkin (1886) 5.

25 Glacken (1967) 258–60.

26 Isidore/Barney (2008) 4–31 for background.

27 The works are listed by his younger associate Braulio, in the *Renotatio Isidori* (Isidore/Barney 2008) 7–8 for summary.

28 His source is Servius, the fourth century Latin grammarian's *Commentary on Vergil's Aeneid* 6.724, where *klima* is translated as *climatum*. Glacken (1967) 259 n. 10.

the Gauls fierce in nature and rather sharp in wit, because the character of the climate makes them so (Isid. *Etym.* 9.2.105).²⁹

Isidore of Seville's belief that ethnic characteristics result from environmental causes is devoid of any religious criticism. Like Cassiodorus, he has assimilated environmental theory and neutralized its controversial character. The immense popularity of his *Etymologies* in the Middle Ages did much to enable the survival of ancient beliefs about the controlling hand of the environment.

Whether or not the natural environment shaped human society received considerable attention and provoked considerable discussion in the ancient world. We have seen three significant phases over nearly a millennium. First we saw how in the field of Greek science in the Classical and Hellenistic periods theorists considered how environment and human society interact; second, we saw the emergence of a theory that the Roman Empire could overcome environmental dictates in a civilizing process; and finally, we saw both acceptance and challenges to environmental determinism posed by Christian belief. These three variables, environment and culture, environment and empire; and environment in a Christian cosmos, still inform debate today. They are testimony to the longevity and vitality of this scientific strand of the classical legacy.³⁰

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29 Trans. Barney et al. (2008).

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Geographic Index

- Africa 30, 44, 92–93, 110, 146, 180, 183, 189,
262, 270, 306, 309, 343
- Anatolia 10, 161, 216–18, 222–32
- Antioch 88, 167
- Antitaurus Mountains 216–18, 224, 226–31
- Apamea 166, 167n22, 170, 231
- Aquileia 285–86, 292, 311
- Ara Ubiorum 114n33, 115–16
- Asia 45, 145–46, 184, 188–89, 209, 218–19,
225, 228, 242, 261, 273–74, 335
- Asiana (diocese) 180, 183, 185–86
- Athens 167, 169, 200–201, 206–209, 213, 263,
299, 301–304, 311, 342
- Baiae 314, 317
- Bithynia 146, 161–74, 188–90, 250, 261,
fig. 12.4
- Blandeno 280–94
- Britain 246, 248, 254n108, 255, 281–82, 286,
292, 294, 299
- Brundisium 109–10, 113
- Caesarea Maritima 148–53, 155, 157–58
- Campania 108, 189, 281, 283–84, 314
- Cappadocia 188–90, 226, 270, 322
- Castra Vetera 114n33, 115–18
- Caucasus Range 264, 339
- Cilicia 29, 36, 39, 44–45, 183, 188, 190, 216,
221, 230, 261, 294
Cilician Gates 217–18, 221, 224, 226–330
- Constantinople 85, 95, 97, 218, 231n50,
339–43
- Corinth 204, 263, 301n16, 304n25
- Crete 39, 45, 270
- Cyprus 270
- Danube River 209, 211, 213, 241, 251, 253, 262,
273, 276, 341
- Delos 263, 300–302, 206, 311
- Elbe River 262, 269
- Ephesus 167, 224, 263, 299n7, 309
- Etruria 310, 314–16, 318–21, 327, 329
- Galatia 186, 188–91, 261
- Gaul 110–11, 113, 180, 182, 192, 242, 261, 275,
282, 286–87, 294, 314
Cisalpine (Citerior) 37, 39, 44–45, 110–11,
281–86
Comata 248
Narbonensis 176n6, 261, 286, 310
Transalpine (Uterior) 44–45, 285–86
- Germany 242, 261–62, 264–65, 268, 273,
275–76, 301, 302n17
Lower 114, 116–17
Modern 57, 326
Upper 115, 117
- Gordium 217–18, 224, 226
- Granicus River 219, 222–25, 230
- Greece 5, 29, 37, 41–2, 109–10, 132, 165, 170,
199–201, 203–205, 212, 214, 228, 261, 274,
301–302, 321, 335–36
- Illyria 44, 112–13, 182, 281–82, 286
- Jerusalem 151, 152nn22 and 23, 154
- Judaea 148, 154–56, 158
- Latium 314–16, 318, 321, 324, 327–28
- Laus Pompeia 287, 289–90, 292–94
- Macedon 45, 110, 116, 189–90, 207–209,
211–13, 229, 261, 273–76, 309
- Massilia 108–9
- Miletus 224, 263
- Moesia 180, 186n29, 188–90, 192, 248, 304n27
- Nicaea 165, 167
- Nicomedia 45, 92, 165, 167, 231n50
- Noricum 188–89, 265, 268, 273–74, 276
- Oriens (diocese) 180, 182–83, 188, 190
- Pannonia 114, 180, 188–90, 192, 262, 264–65,
268, 273–74, 276, 299
- Parthia 39, 261
- Placentia 108, 118, 280, 283, 285–88, 290,
292, 294

- Pompeii 123–25, 127, 129–30, 136, 154, 283,
 299, 302n18, 303, 305, 307n42, 309–10
 Pontica (diocese) 180, 183, 188, 190
 Prusa (*ad Olypsum*) 161–74

 Ravenna 85, 92, 284
 Rhine River 114–15, 117–18, 241, 261–62, 269,
 276
 Rome (city) 5, 8–10, 59, 60, 65, 68, 71, 81,
 85–89, 91–98, 110–12, 115, 119–20, 164, 167,
 235–55, 261, 268, 272, 274, 280–81, 283–85,
 288, 290, 292, 299–300, 302, 304–6, 323,
 337–39
 Modern City 48, 84, 98, 237, 239, 245–48,
 253

 Scyllacium (Squillace) 342
 Sicily 3, 201, 204–207, 214, 270, 301
 Smyrna 130, 167, 263
 Spain 32, 34, 37–38, 44, 108, 180, 183, 262,
 268, 270, 272, 275–76, 301, 303, 305
 Citerior 44, 248
 Sparta 5, 167, 201, 205, 208–209, 229, 306
 Syracuse 206

 Tarsus 165, 167, 218, 231n50
 Taurus Mountains 216, 225–6
 Thrace 180, 188, 190, 199, 201, 207–214, 248,
 261, 273–74
 Thracia (diocese) 180, 190
 Troy 218–19, 223

General Index

(Emperors and authors are indexed by their common name as found in the *OCD* ⁴. All other individuals are indexed by their full name, where known.)

- acta senatus* (see Senate)
- Aemilia Lepida 75
- Aemilius Paullus, L. 31, 37, 40, 43–4, 239, 275
- Aelius Aristides 42, 316
- Aeolians 263
- Agrianians 210–11
- Agrippina (the Younger) 246n74
- Agrippina (the Elder) 68–69, 116
- Alcibiades 6, 201, 205
- Alexander 111, the Great 216–19, 222–32
- Ambrose of Milan 94
- Ammianus Marcellinus 93, 268
- Amphitheaters 122–23, 126, 136, 326
- Anaximander 200–1
- Annia Rufilla 75
- Antony, M. (triumvir) 31, 33–34, 38–41, 45, 110–13, 118, 276
- Antoninus Pius (emperor) 249
- Aphrodisias, Sebasteion 245
- Aquae* (springs) 237, 241, 246, 315, 317–27
- Arcadians 336
- Archippus, Flavius 172–73
- Aristotle 336
- Aristagoras of Miletus 201, 214
- Athenogoras of Syracuse 206–207
- Auctoratus* (see contract gladiator)
- Augustan Age 334, 337–38, 340
- Augustus Caesar 8, 31, 33–5, 41, 48–63, 84, 88–9, 90–91, 95, 107, 110–15, 118–19, 145, 157, 236, 238, 240, 242–43, 245, 261, 269–72, 274, 319–20, 324, 330, 337
- Aurelian Column (see Column of Marcus Aurelius)
- assizes (gubernatorial) 164, 167, 169, 282
- Athens 169
 - Tower of the Winds 299, 301, 311
- Barbarian(s) 86, 97, 246, 247n75, 250–55, 262, 335, 337–38, vfigs. 12.5, 12.6
- Britain 246, 255, 281–82, 292, 294
- Baths, Roman 7, 88, 122, 172, 305, 314, 316–20, 324–25, 328–29
- Bematists 217, 226, 230
- Brunt, P.A. 52–3
- Caecina Severus, Aulus 117
- Caelius Aurelianus 318, 328–29
- Calpurnius Piso, Gn. 67–8, 70–3, 75, 77
- Cardinal directions, see Worldview
- Careers, Roman senatorial, see *cursus honorum*
- Cassiodorus 96, 342–44
- Cassius Dio 42, 51, 61, 62–3, 74, 249
- Cato Censor (Major) 32–34, 37, 40, 43, 90
- Cato Uticensis (Minor) 31, 33, 38, 39, 45, 127, 305n33
- Chastagnol, A. 59–61
- Claudia Pulchra 67–9
- Claudius (emperor) 172, 246, 270, 324
- clipeus virtutis* 90, 91
- Codex Theodosianus 180–81
- Colosseum 123, 326
- Commodus (emperor) 131, 133
- Confrontational tension/fear 139–41
- Constantine I (emperor) 92–3, 178–80, 182, 192, 338
- Constantinople 85, 95, 97, 218, 231, 339–43
- Controversia* (rhetorical exercise) 134
- Cornelius Fronto, M. 146
- Cornelius Nepos 32–4, 37, 40, 43
- Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, P. 31, 40
- Cornelius Scipio Africanus, P. (Elder) 33, 35, 90, 110
- Cornelius Sulla, L. 30–31, 33, 36–9, 41, 44, 85–7, 275
- Curia* (Senate House) 71–2, 84–99
 - Cardinal orientation of 86, 88
 - Cornelia 84, 86–87
 - Diocletiana 92
 - Hostilia 84, 86
 - Julia 84–91, 93, 98
 - Pompeia 88–90
 - Provincial *curiae* 88–9, 92
 - S. Adriano 85, 97–99

- Curiosum* 237n14, 241n40, 248n80 (see also
 Regionaries, Regionary Catalogues)
cursus honorum 29–45, 147
cursus publicus 245
- Decimation (*fustuarium*) 109–10, 112, 114,
 116–17, 119
Demensuratio provinciarum 236n5
 Discipline (see military discipline)
 Dii 210–11
 Dioceses 177–92
 Diocletian (emperor) 178–79, 186, 192,
 253–54, fig. 12.3
 Dio Cocceianus “Chrysostom” 161–74
 family and nomenclature 162, 164, 167,
 172
 Dioscuri 254
Divisio orbis terrarum 236n5
Doctores (trainers of gladiators) 130, 138–40
 Doctors (see *medici*)
 Domitian (emperor) 41, 90, 123, 167,
 172, 318
- Easter Chronicle/Chronicon Paschale* 342
elogia 31–2, 37
 Environment 334–44
 Environmental determinism 336, 338–40,
 343
 Equestrian statue of Tiridates (see Rome,
 Equus Tiridatis regis Armeniorum)
Ethne 245
 Ethnic personification 244–45, 247–51,
 254–55, figs. 12.3, 12.4
 Ethnography 199, 203, 209, 262
 Euergetism 96, 147, 164, 166–69, 309,
 310n52
Expositio totius mundi et gentium 187,
 191–92
- Familia gladiatoria* 126–29, 133
 Fight schools (also see *Ludus*) 139–42
 Julian 127, 136
 Neronian 127, 129–30
finis 177–78, 187–90, 309
 Finley, M.I. 3–5, 7
fons (*fontes*) 226n33, 315–16, 319–20, 328,
 330
 Frontiers 177–78, 187, 212, 216, 276
- Fronto (see Cornelius Fronto)
 Fulcinus Trio, L. 79–80
- Galen 126, 316, 328
 Geographic displays 235–36, 242–44,
 248–49, 253–55, 268
 Geographical mentality 199–201, 235, 243, 334
 Getae 209, 211, 213
 Gladiators 122–42
 Ethos of 136–42
 Fights of 128, 132, 134, 136–42
 Ranking of 131, 133, 137, 141
 novicius 131, 134, 136
 palus 130–31, 133, 136–37, 141
 tiro 128, 130–31, 134–36
 veteranus 130–31, 134, 136, 141
 Training of 122–42
 Types of
 Archer 128
 Auctoratus (contract gladiator) 129,
 132
 Equite 128
 Hoplomachus 128, 130
 Murmillio 130, 132, 136
 Provocator 130
 Retiarius 130–32, 141–42
 Secutor 130–31, 138, 141
 Skirmisher 128
 Thraex (Thracian)
- Grain supply 44, 163
 Granicus, Battle of 223–24
- Hadrian (emperor) 239, 241, 245, 317
 Heraclius 342
 Heralds/town criers 304
 Hermocrates 206
 Herodotus 199–201, 210–11, 216–17
 Hippocrates 316
 [Ps-]Hippocrates 335
 Airs, Waters, Places 335–36
 Hittites 216, 227
 Hydrotherapy 315, 323, 325, 327
- imagines* 31–2
 Imperial cult 127
Infamia (bad repute) 129–30, 135, 140
Insulae 241
 Inter-city rivalries 165–66

- Isidore of Seville 343–44
Itineraria (Itineraries) 188, 260–64, 276, 290, 292, 318
itineraria picta 245
Itinerarium provinciarum Antonini Augusti 231n50, 291n30, 323
Itinerarium Burdigalense 187–92, 289
Itinerarium Egeriae 187, 190–92
- Jefferson, Thomas 333–34
- Julius Bassus, G. 171
- Julius Caesar, G. (dictator) 31–4, 38–9, 41, 43–5, 54, 56, 58, 85, 87–8, 91, 107–12, 118, 127, 130, 239n25, 240n28, 245n63 276, 280–94
- Julius Caesar, G. (Augustus' grandson) 261, 276
- Julius Caesar, Germanicus 73, 114–19
- Julius Caesar Octavianus, G. (see Augustus)
- Justinian 339–40, 342–43
- Kirk, Charles 333
- Klima/klimata 341–42
- Laianians 210
- Langobardi 262
- LANISTA* 127, 129–36, 139–40
- Laterculus Veronensis 180, 183
- Legal proceedings (court) 65–83, 305
- Legions
I Germanica 114–17
II 110 n.21
IV 110–11
V Alaudae 114–15, 117
VI Ferrata 149, 156
IX 108–10, 115
X (Caesar's) 113n29
X Fretensis 113, 149, 150, 153–54, 156
XII Fulminata 155–56
XX 114–15, 117
XXI Rapax 114–15, 117
XXXIV 110n21
Martia 110n21, 111–12
- Lex pugnandi* (rules of gladiatorial combat) 140
- Licinius (emperor) 180, 182
- Licinius Crassus, M. 31, 38, 44
- Licinius Lucullus, L. 31, 36, 40 n. 34, 44
- Liturgies 164, 167
- Livia Augusta 156–57
- Lucius Verus (emperor) 250–51, fig. 12.5
- ludi saeculares* 305
- Ludus* (training school for gladiators)
 122–42, fig. 6.1
 conditions in 122, 126, 135, 139–41
Ludus Magnus, Rome 123–26, 133–34, fig. 6.1
Ludus, Carnuntum 122
Ludus, Pompeii 123–27, 130, 136, fig. 6.2
 personnel of 130, 133 (see also *doctores*, *lanista*)
- Magistri* (trainers of gladiators) 130
- Macrocephali 335
- Marcomanni 262, 264–65, 269, 273–74, 276
 Marcomannic Wars 251–53, fig. 12.6
 Maroboduus (King of Marcomanni) 262, 264–65, 268, 273–74
- Marcus Aurelius (emperor) 253
- Martial 237
- Medical knowledge 126, 316, 323, 327, 335
medici 130, 262
- Memnon of Rhodes 219, 222–3
- Military
 Athenian 204–207
 Macedonian 216–32
 Roman 7, 9, 33–34, 42, 88, 92, 103–20, 227, 237, 247, 249, 252, 262, 264–65, 268–69, 275–76, 284, 286, 294, 322
 Caesar's 38, 44, 107, 281–82, 284, 286, 294
 Commanders 32–45, 95, 103–4, 106, 108, 110, 114, 119–20, 240, 284, 294
 Discipline 103–20, 262
 Military unrest (other than mutiny) 104–7
 Officers 35–45, 104, 106, 108–12, 116–17, 119, 260, 284
 Veterans 109–11, 113, 115–16, 156, 274
 Odrysian 209–213
- Minucius Thermus 45, 76–77
- Mithridates VI 44, 274
- Municipalities
 assemblies 161, 168, 170–71
 councils 164, 167, 170, 309
 magistrates 167, 308–309

- Mussolini, Benito 48–49, 63, 84–85, 92, 98
- Mutiny 103–20
 defined 105–6
 incidents of 107–18
 stages 107–108
- Namatianus, Rutilius 314, 322
- Nepos (see Cornelius Nepos) 32–34, 37, 40
- Nero (emperor) 53, 120, 130, 243, 246n74,
 248–49, 310, 324
- Nerva (emperor) 164, 169
- Nicias 205–6
- Nicolaus of Damascus 33, 35
- Notitia* 237n14, 241n40, 248 n80 (see also
 Regionaries, Regionary Catalogues)
- Notitia Dignitatum* 180, 183
- Odrysiens 199, 207–209, 211–14
 Sitalces (King of Odrysiens) 208–14
- orbis terrarum* 236, 268–69, 271–72, 277
- Orientation, see Worldview
- Paionians 210
- Pannonians 262, 274
- Parmenio 219, 223–24
- Peloponnesians 263
- Periodos 201, 207
- periploi* 262–63
- Personifications 244n61, 247, 250, 253 (see
 also “ethnic personification”)
- Peutinger Map 6, 241n43, 263, 277, 291n30,
 323, 327, 329
- Persian Empire 201, 206, 208–10, 212, 216–19,
 222–28, 230–31, 254, 335, 339
- Philosophers
 in Classical Greece 200–201
 in Roman Empire 161, 172
- Philostratus 162, 164
- Phraates IV (King of Parthia) 261
- Pinax 201
- Piso (see Calpurnius Piso)
- Plato 201
- Pliny the Elder 235–37, 240, 242
- Pliny the Younger 146, 162, 164, 171, 269
- Plutarch 31–45, 162–63, 165–66
- Polybius 336
- Pompeius Magnus, Gn. (Pompey) 30–31, 34,
 38–39, 41–42, 44, 88, 110, 264, 270–71
- Poppaeus Sabinus, G. 79–80
- Praetorian prefects 178, 181–82
- Procopius of Caesarea 339–40
- Provinces 9, 39, 145–60, 178–92, 241, 244–45,
 248–50, 260–77, 281–86, 299, 339
 councils 165, 171
 elites 149 152, 167–68, 172–73
 governors 145, 149, 150–51, 153, 164–72,
 178, 181, 192
- Ps.-Caesarius 340–41
- Public works 84, 163–73, 308n44, 309
- Quaestio perpetua* 71
- Regionaries, Regionary Catalogues: 235,
 237, 240–41, 248, 253
- Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 33–34, 89–90,
 242–43
- Riots 106, 163, 170
- Reliefs (“province” reliefs, “Torlonia relief”)
 243–45, 247–55, figs. 12.3, 12.4, 12.5, 12.6
- Rome 68, 71, 81, 167, 323, 337–39
 Ancient monuments and spaces
 (figs. 12.1, 12.2, 12.3)
 Antonine arch (at the
 Hadrianeum) 243–44, 249, 251,
 255
 Aqua Virgo 236–39, 244, 246
 Ara Pacis 84, 238, 240–41, 243n57
 Arch of Claudius 237, 239, 243–44,
 246–48, 253–55
 Arch of Constantine 93n28
 Arcus Novus 239, 241, 243–44, 247,
 253–55
 Aurelian Walls 240
 Campus Agrippae 236–38
 Campus Martius 240–41, 243
 Catabulum 243–45, 253, 255
 Circus Flaminius 246
 Circus Maximus 94
 Column of Marcus Aurelius 239, 241,
 243–44, 251–53, 255, fig. 12.6
 Column of Trajan 243n57,
 253nn103–5
 Curia (see Curia)
 Equus Tirdatis regis
 Armeniorum 243, 244, 248, 255
 Forum Augusti 31, 40

- Forum Boarium 239
 Forum Romanum 85–98, 239, 248
 Horologium 238, 243, 299n7
 Hadrianeum 243, 244, 248n77,
 249–52, 255, figs. 12.4 and 12.5
 Map of Agrippa 235–37, 239–43, 245,
 248n79, 249, 253–55, 268–69, 277
 Mausoleum of Augustus 238, 242
 Obelisks 94, 243
 Pantheon 236, 238, 241
 Porticus ad Nationes 245n65
 Porticus Europae 239n22
 Porticus Liviae 240
 Porticus Vipsania 235–46, 248–49,
 251, 254–55, 269
 Regio VII 237, 239–41, 244, 246, 248,
 253–54, fig. 12.2
 Quirinal 237
 Saepia Julia 238, 240n28, 243n57,
 246, fig. 12.1
 Temple of Mater Matuta 239
 Temple of Tellus on the Esquiline 240
 Theater of Pompey 88, 245, 248
 Transtiberim 246
 Via Flaminia 235–41, 243–46, 249,
 251–55, fig. 12.5
 Via Lata (Regio VII) 237, 239–41, 244,
 248
 Via Lata (Via Flaminia) 240, 244
 Emperors absent from 93–94
 Fire of 64 and 80 237n16
 Floods 241
 modern
 Galleria Colonna 248
 Galleria Sciarra 237, 239
 S. Marcello al Corso 245
 S. Maria in Via Lata 253
 S. Adriano 85, 97–99
 Trevi Fountain 239
 Via del Caravita 246
 Via del Corso 240
 Via del Tritone 248
 Via di Propaganda 248
 Villa Medici 247
pomerium 237, 238, 240
 public maps 239–40 (see also Map of
 Agrippa)
 Roosevelt, Franklin D. 325, 327
sacramentum 111–12, 117, 119
 Sadocus 209
 Scлавени 341
 Scythians 209
 Second Sophistic 161–66
 Seleucids 230
 foundations 231
 Sempronius Gracchus, G. 40n34, 44
 Sempronius Gracchus, Ti. 44, 239
 Senate 48–64, 72, 81, 145
 Absenteeism in 48–64
 acta senatus 71–3
 Imperial 8–9, 32, 66, 71–73, 76–77, 80–81,
 88–97, 111
 Legislation concerning 48–64
 Meetings 90–1
 quorum (in meetings of) 48–64
 Republican 4–8, 30, 39, 86–90, 291
 senate house (see *curia*)
 Under Augustus 48–64, 84, 88–90
Senatus Consultum de Cn. Pisone Patre
 (SCPP) 68, 71
 Sertorius, Q. 30, 37–39, 44
 Servaeus, Quintus 76
 Severan Marble Plan of Rome 242nn46, 48
 Silvanus 133
 Sitalces (see Odrysians)
 Slavs 340–41
 Social Conflict 163, 167, 169–70, 172–73
 Social War 37, 44, 275
 Sôphrosynê (moderation, restraint) 163, 168
 Soranus, Barea 68, 70
 Spartacus (and Spartacus war) 38, 126, 140
 Strabo 201, 223, 236n5, 324, 337–38
 Suetonius 34–5, 56, 61–2, 249, 284, 324
 Sundials 298–312
 Absence of mottoes on 307
 Accuracy 301–304
 And evergetism 306, 309–10
 As calendars 300–301
 As gifts to divinities 310–11
 As useful to towns 305–6
 Cost 310
 Decorations 306–7
 Ease of use 303
 Horologium of Augustus 238, 243,
 fig. 12.1
 Mark hours 299–300

- Ubiquity of 298–99
- Wrong latitude 301–303
- Syme, R.R. 50, 53–7, 60, 74n27
- Synoikismos 170
- System Justification Theory 136

- Tacitus 65–81, 275
- Talbert, R.J.A. 3–8, 10, 12–26, 29, 48–54, 56, 59, 62, 63, 71n17, 174, 178, 187, 199, 236, 260, 263, 265, 274, 277, 312n59, 323–24, 344
- Terentius, M. 70, 76–77
- Thrasea Paetus 63, 68, 70
- Thucydides 199–214
- Tiberius (emperor) 50–54, 69, 72–3, 79–80, 115, 155, 261, 265, 269, 276, 317
- Tilataeans 210
- Tiridates I (King of Armenia) 248 (see also *Equus Tiridatis regis Armeniorum*)
- Trajan (emperor) 146, 162, 164, 169, 172–74
- Trebellenus Rufus, T. 79–80
- Treres 210
- Triballi 210
- Triumph, triumphal 239–40, 244, 254
- Tullius, Marcus Cicero 29–33, 36–37, 39–42, 44, 86, 119, 127, 138, 280–94
- Tullius, Quintus Cicero 280–94
- Tyrants 169
- Tzani 339

- Umpire (*summa rudis*) 133, 139–40

- Varenus Rufus 171
- Velleius Paterculus 10, 260–65, 268–77
- Venus Genetrix 247, 254, fig. 12.3
- Vespasian (emperor) 154, 156, 171n29, 318, 324
- Vicarii 178, 180–81, 192
- Victoria 253–54
- Vipsania Polla 236
- Vipsanius Agrippa, M. 235–55
 - Agrippa's commentarii* 235–42, 245–46, 249, 253–55
- Virtus 247 and fig. 12.3
- Vistilius, S. 76–77
- Vitruvius 89, 337–38
- Vivarium 342

- Warm Springs, Georgia 323, 325, 327
- Wooring and Warring in the
 - Wilderness 333–34
- Worldview
 - Hodological or linear 260, 263–64, 277
 - Provincial framework 260–61, 269–77
 - Orientation and cardinal directions 264, 268
 - Mental map/cartographic consciousness 269, 273, 277
- Zodiac 341